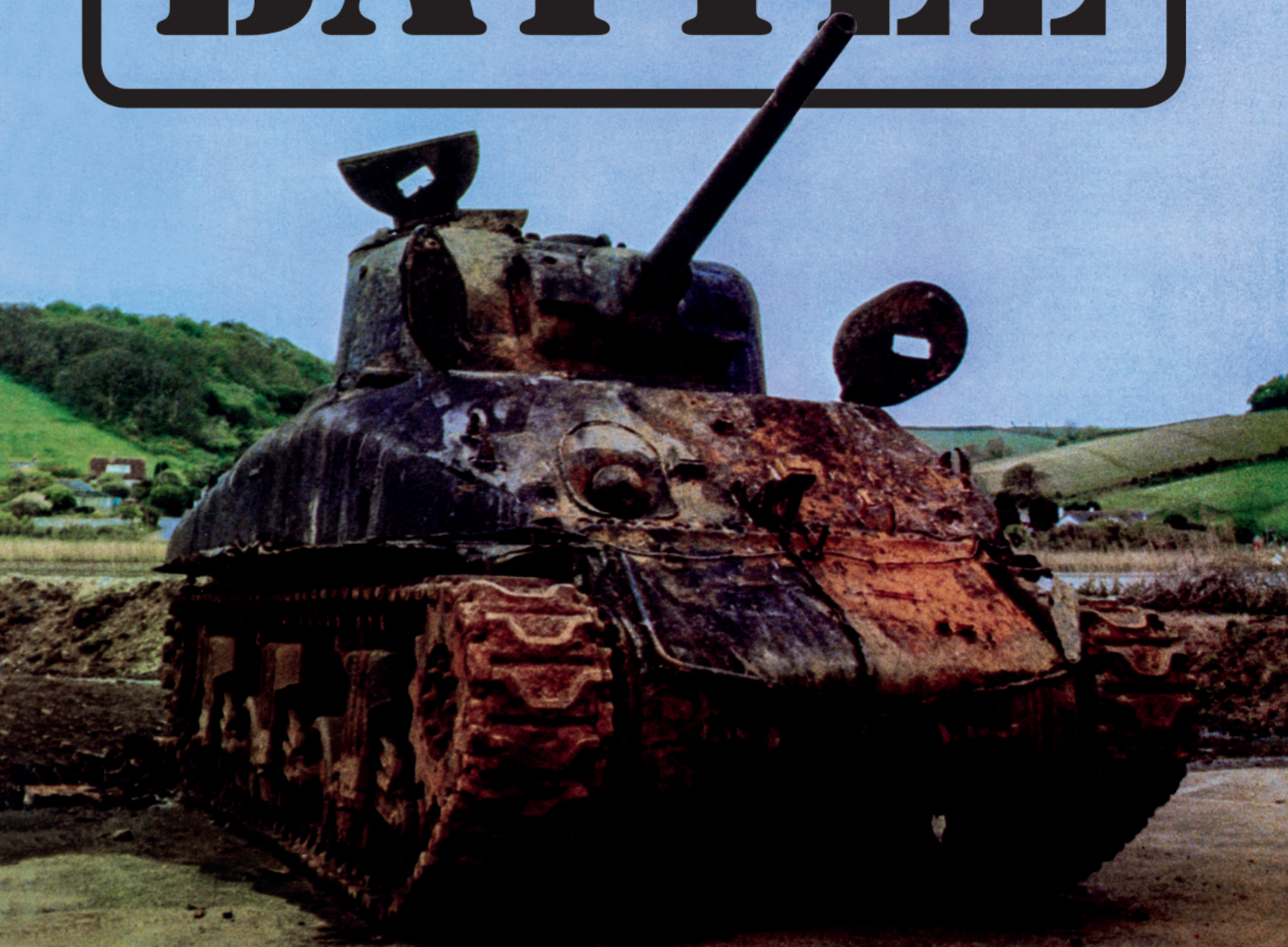


AFTER THE BATTLE



**D-DAY'S MOST IGNOMINIOUS CASUALTY
THE TANK THAT MISSED D-DAY
TELEMARK RE-CREATED**

Number 45

AFTER THE BATTLE

NUMBER 45

Edited by Winston G. Ramsey

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Front Cover: The Sherman that missed D-Day. Once on the strength of Company A of the US 70th Tank Battalion, this DD has now been recovered from the sea off the Slapton Assault Training Area to be dedicated as a memorial to all those who lost their lives training in the area for D-Day. (Steve Casely)

Centre pages: D-Day forty years on. The pageantry of the victors on June 6, 1984 at Utah Beach — intended landing point of the Slapton Sherman. (© Fox/Keystone)

Back Cover: Ordensburg Vogelsang. National Socialist architecture at the School for Führers, now a NATO training area:

IHR SEID DIE
You are the
FACKELTRÄGER
Torchbearers
DER NATION
Of the nation
IHR TRÄGT DAS
Carrying the
LICHT DES GEISTES
Light of the spirits
VORAN DEN KÄMPFE
Leading the battles
FÜR DEN FÜHRER
For the Führer

ISSN: 0306-154X



Target for three operations — the real one in 1943, the film re-creation in 1964, and the army re-enactment in 1983 — the heavy water plant at Vermork seventy-five miles west of Oslo. This picture was taken during the preparations for the making of 'Heroes of Telemark' in 1964.

In a recent issue of *After the Battle* the story of the research, production, preparation and delivery of the atomic bombs on Japan was described. We now take our readers back to 1942 . . . to a time before the bombs were in being; before the machinery to make the material to fabricate the bombs had even been designed, let alone constructed. Indeed even the decision whether or not to speculate millions on just a theory had not yet been taken, and so in June that year Winston Churchill flew to meet President Roosevelt. High on the agenda was the debate to determine whether or not to go ahead. 'We both felt painfully the dangers of doing nothing', wrote Churchill. 'We knew what efforts the Germans were making to procure supplies of "heavy water" — a sinister term, eerie, unnatural which began to creep into our secret papers. What if the enemy should get an atomic bomb before we did!'

Heavy water, formed almost entirely of deuterium oxide, is akin to graphite in its neutron absorption properties, and news of its increased production at the Norsk Hydro Electrisk plant at Vermork near Rjukan in central southern Norway (where excess power was used on a routine basis to electrolyse natural water and leave a concentrate of heavy water in the residue) meant only one thing to Allied scientists: their German counterparts were preparing to produce an atomic bomb.

Leif Tronstat, Professor of Physics at Trondheim was the originator of the signal and when Professor R. V. Jones of British Scientific Intelligence requested more information, Professor Tronstat demanded confirmation that British interest was genuine and not commercially minded. After all, his message went on, 'remember blood is thicker even than heavy water!' Suitably reassured, the Professor travelled to Britain in the autumn of 1941 to report that Karl Wirtz of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institut had inspected the plant, the main source of heavy water in Europe, and a contract had been awarded by the Germans for the supply of 1500 kilograms. A Norwegian patriot and native of Rjukan, Einar Skinnarland, had already been dropped by parachute in March to find out how far the Germans were advanced and as a result of the information he passed back to England, one of the most daring sabotage acts carried out in World War II was planned — Operation Gunnerside — which culminated in a successful attack on the factory on February 27/28, 1943.

Exactly forty years later a party of Royal Marine commandos, many veterans of the Falklands War of 1982, restaged the mission in an historic re-enactment in Exercise 'Heavy Water'. Leading the group was Lieutenant Colonel Ivar Hellberg, OBE. This is his story.



TELEMARK RE-CREATED

BY LIEUTENANT COLONEL IVAR HELLBERG, OBE

It all started in March 1942 when a lone parachutist was dropped to reconnoitre the plant. On the night of October 18/19 of the same year, four Norwegians (Knut Haugland, Claus Helberg (no relation), Arne Kjelstrup and Jens Poulsson) were dropped near Lake Songavatn about fifty miles to the west of Rjukan. The task of the group, which had been given the code-name GROUSE, was to prepare the ground for the sabotage operation, and to maintain radio contact with the United Kingdom to collect intelligence on the production of heavy water.

The GROUSE group had a hard task reaching their planned base at Sandvatn just north of Vermork. The four men had to make repeated trips over the next fifteen days to move all the supplies a few kilometres each day and it was not until November 6 that they finally reached their destination. Meanwhile, Headquarters Combined Operations had instructed Major-General Frederick 'Boy' Browning, as Commander Paratroops and Airborne Troops, and Group Captain Sir Nigel Norman, leading No. 38 Wing newly-formed to operate tug aircraft for glider towing, to plan an operation to destroy the installation. After considering various possibilities the decision was made to use glider-borne troops — the first such operation by British airborne forces in the Second World War. The 9th Field Company (Airborne) and 261 Field Park Company (Airborne) of the Royal Engineers were called upon to provide volunteers and two parties were selected, each comprising one officer (Lieutenant David Methven and Lieutenant Alex Allen respectively), one sergeant, thirteen other ranks and two glider pilots. The party was

brought together under conditions of great secrecy and as security cover it was given out that they were training to meet the challenge of an American engineer unit for an imaginary 'Washington Cup'.

The Halifax was the only aircraft capable of towing the Horsa glider the required distance (nearly 600 miles), which included a sea crossing of 340 miles, and the two aircrews were specially selected to include an element of Dominion personnel. Squadron Leader A. B. Wilkinson of No. 295 Squadron of the Royal Air Force captained the first tug towing the glider piloted by Staff Sergeant Malcolm Strathdee and Sergeant Peter Doig, both of the 1st Glider Pilot Regiment. The second Halifax, with a seven-man crew under Flight Lieutenant Arthur Parkinson, from No. 297 Squadron, of the Royal Canadian Air Force, was towing the Horsa piloted by Pilot Officer Norman Davies and Sergeant Herbert Fraser, both of the Royal Australian Air Force. In reality each glider contained a completely self-contained party capable of carrying out the operation individually. This duplication was considered a pre-requisite in view of the

inhospitable terrain. The troops wore plain clothes under their uniforms to facilitate their escape after the operation. Instructions were issued that any casualties were to be given morphine and abandoned.

The Halifaxes were equipped with the new Rebecca-Eureka radar homing device, the Rebecca set being contained in the aircraft while the Eureka set was delivered to Norwegian agents to set it up on the proposed landing zone near Lake Mösavatn. The operation was code-named FRESHMAN.

On November 17 the whole force moved to Skitten airfield, a satellite of Wick in Scotland, where the extended runway made for a safer take-off, the operation being scheduled for the night of November 19/20. Although the weather forecast was not ideal, it was considered reasonable for the time of year bearing in mind the possibility of deterioration for the remainder of the moon period, essential for a safe landing. (A reconnaissance had been carried out on the previous night, under the guise of a leaflet raid on Oslo, although only one aircraft actually reached the area.)

Modern-day heroes in an historic setting. Exactly forty years after the raid, Royal Marine commandos re-enacted what was arguably the most vital undercover operation of the entire war. Every man on Exercise Heavy Water, staged in February 1983, had served in the Falklands the previous year in various roles, some aspects utilising their skills for special operations. In the foreground Major Terry Knott, MC, and Lieutenant-Colonel Ivar Hellberg, OBE, author of our story. Major Roddy MacDonald, MBE, in the centre behind them. The actual heavy water building survived the explosion only to become obsolete by the 1970s. In August 1977 it was finally blown up and today only the hydro-electric power plant remains.

Squadron Leader Wilkinson in 'A' Apple took off first at 5.50 p.m. followed by Flight Lieutenant Parkinson ('B' Baker) twenty minutes later. Nothing was heard from the aircraft until a signal was received at base at 11.55 p.m. from Parkinson's Halifax requesting a bearing for a return course. RDF plotted his aircraft as being over the North Sea at the time and the bearing was transmitted but nothing further was heard from this aircraft.

A few minutes later a signal was received from Squadron Leader Wilkinson announcing that his glider had been 'released in sea' although RDF plotted the Halifax as being over the mountains of southern Norway at the time. When the Halifax returned to Skitten on its last drop of petrol, the crew explained what had happened. They had reached the coast of Norway safely but the Rebecca set had chosen that moment to go u/s so the run to the landing zone had had to be made through patchy cloud by map reading alone. During a second attempt to locate Lake Mösvatn the aircraft flew into thick ice-making cloud. Unable to climb with both tug and glider icing up, the pair slowly lost height. Back on the

coast just north of Stavanger, the tow line snapped, committing the glider and its seventeen occupants to its fate. It crashed on top of a snow-covered mountain at Fylgjesdal.

The other aircraft fared even worse. Because of bad weather encountered over the landing zone the tug and glider turned back towards Scotland. During the flight towards the Norwegian coast, the tow-rope broke forcing the glider to make an unscheduled landing. The Horsa crashed into a mountainside near Egersund and while the Halifax was circling the area it suddenly banked heavily, lost control and crashed into the next mountain range approximately four kilometres to the south near Helleland.

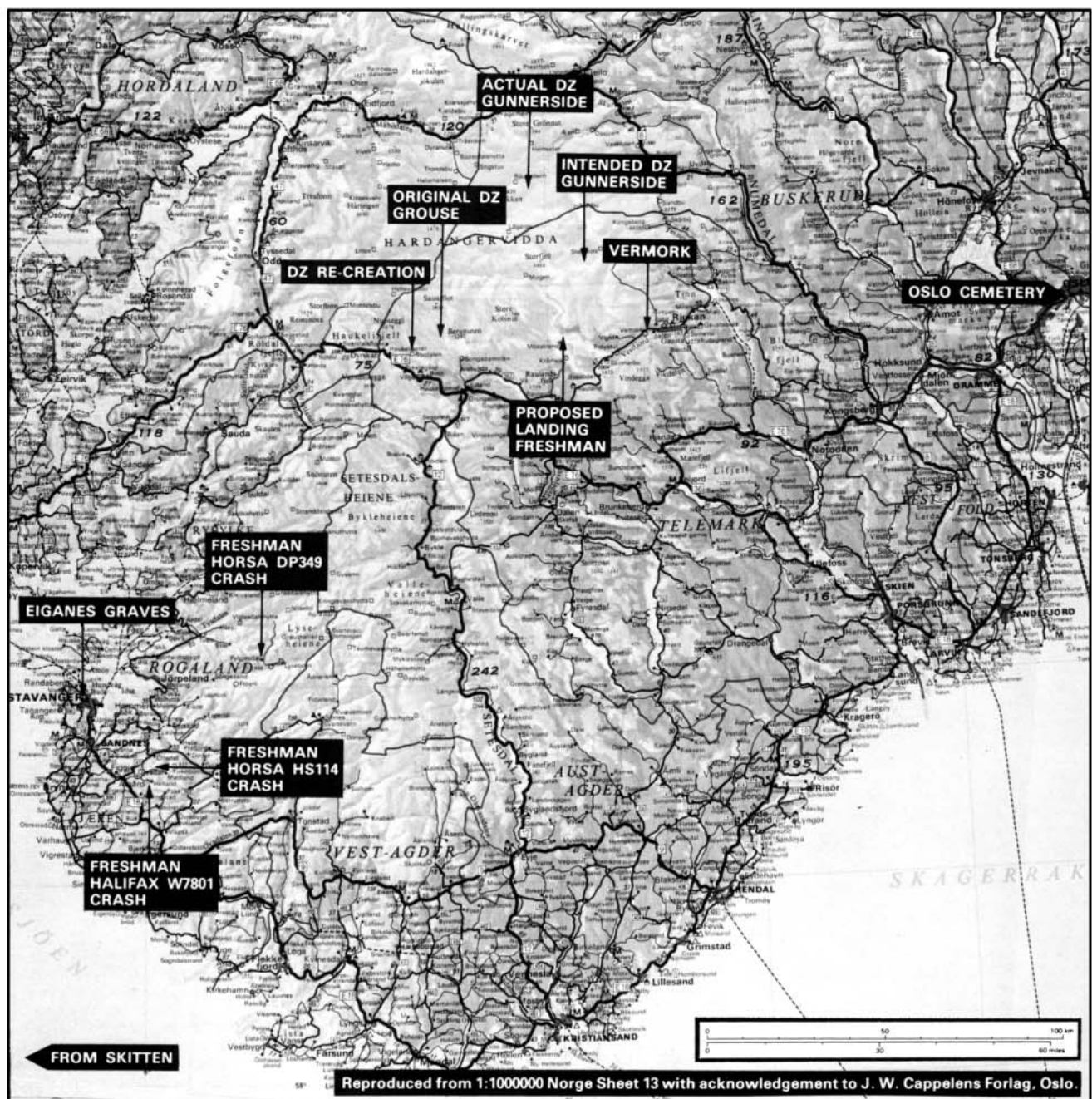
Despite the setback, the GROUSE group was still intact, though from now on its code-name was changed to SWALLOW. They had to withdraw into the heart of the Hardanger Vidda (plateau) where they spent the winter, eking out what was left of their food with wild reindeer, which they were lucky enough to track down and shoot. They even had to eat entrails to keep alive.

On February 16, 1943, a new group known as GUNNERSIDE comprising Knut

Haukelid, Kasper Idland, Fredrik Kayser, Joachim Ronneberg, Birger Stronsheim and Hans Storhaug, was flown to Norway. As a warning had been received from the SWALLOW base at Sandvatn warning against any more aerial activity over the factory area, the six men were dropped thirty miles to the north near Lake Skrykken. Battling south through blizzards, it was several days before the GUNNERSIDE group joined up with the four men of SWALLOW.

On the evening of February 27 the ten saboteurs were lined up at Fosbudalen, just north of the Vermork Works, ready to strike. They quickly tackled the perilous and difficult

The successful destruction of the electrolysis equipment on Operation GUNNERSIDE had been preceded the previous November by Operation FRESHMAN — the abortive attempt to land Royal Engineers by glider. GROUSE was the code-name given to the original Norwegian four-man recce team which landed by parachute in October 1942. They joined up with the six Norwegians of GUNNERSIDE in February 1943.





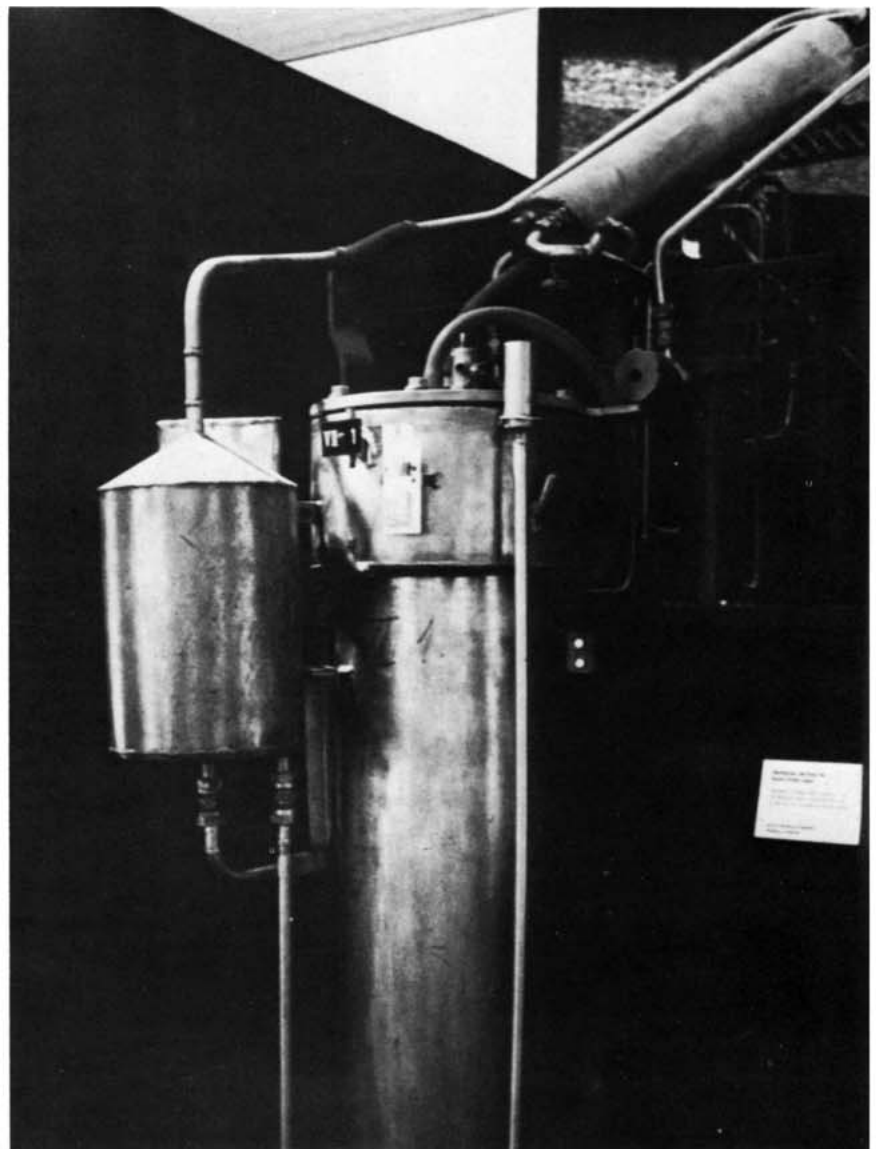
What now remains? These relics from Halifax and gliders were obtained for the Royal Engineers' museum at Chatham by

Lieutenant Colonel G. R. Owens. Right: Flight Lieutenant Parkinson's Irvin flying jacket was picked up at the time.

descent down the mountain, negotiating the gorge running down to the heavy water plant, and forcing their way with wire cutters through the perimeter gates to the plant. The cover party took up their positions, and the sabotage group made their way swiftly to the target, placing their explosive charges on the vital containers of heavy water, the bulk of which was destroyed. Strangely enough, the German guards had no idea that anything was afoot in the area. Following a strenuous trek on skis, the saboteurs reached the safety of the plateau, where they went into hiding.

After resting, they split up into two groups. One, fully armed and in uniform, ski'd clear across Norway to the safety of neutral Sweden, while the other party remained on the Hardanger plateau, skilfully avoiding capture by the many German patrols who combed the countryside in an attempt to run them to earth. Meanwhile, radio contact was maintained with the Allied command in London, right up to the end of the war.

The heavy water plant was subsequently repaired and to counter this new threat the Americans decided to try to bomb the factory. On November 16, 1943, 160 Flying Fortresses from the 94th, 95th, 96th, 100th, 385th, 388th and 390th Bomb Groups were despatched to attack the Vermork power station and factory followed by 39 B-24s from the 44th, 93rd, 389th and 392nd groups. Shortly before midday the first wave dropped over seven hundred 1,000lb bombs within a two minute period to be followed twenty minutes later by another three hundred 500-pounders. The raid completely missed the electrolysis plant but did seriously damage the hydro-electric power plant which ultimately forced the Germans to abandon all plans for future heavy water production. The raid was carried out at a cost of twenty Norwegian lives. However, the saboteurs soon received information that the Germans had decided to move all the stocks of semi-processed heavy water which had survived the raid from Rjukan to Germany and orders were issued from London to sabotage this plan at all costs. The weakest link in the chain was the ferry that carried the railway across Lake Tinnsjø. The night before the ferry was due to sail, the Norwegian saboteur group managed to place a time charge on board and on Sunday, February 20, 1944, the ferry blew up and sank in the middle of the lake, taking its containers of heavy water to the bottom. Apart from the loss of four German guards, fourteen Norwegian civilians perished, but the battle for heavy water in Norway was over.



The director of Norsk Hydro saved three electrolysis cells when the building was demolished. One he kept for himself; the other went to the Norges Hjemmefrontmuseum, the Norwegian resistance museum in Oslo, and the third was donated to the Royal Engineers for their museum at Brompton Barracks.



OPERATION FRESHMAN

HORSA DP349

Crashed at Fylgjesdal near Lysefjord. Site inspected by Kjell Skadberg and Arne Egner of the Norwegian Aviation Historical Society. Small items remaining, other minor parts discovered on local farms.

Eight men were killed outright and are buried in Eiganes churchyard (above) in Stavanger:

Pilot

STRATHDEE, Staff Sergeant Malcolm Frederick, 320272. 1st Glider Pilot Regt., A.A.C. Section Z Grave 11.

Co-pilot

DOIG, Sergeant Peter, 3250420. 1st Glider Pilot Regt., A.A.C. Age 25. Son of Alexander and Jean Lindsay C. Doig, of Glasgow. Section Z Grave 12.

Officer in charge

METHVEN, Lieutenant David Alexander, 210866, G.M. 9 (Airborne) Field Coy., Royal Engineers. Age 20. Son of Major and Mrs D. M. Methven. Section Z Grave 21.

NCO in charge

HEALEY, Lance Sergeant Frederick, 4385760. 9 (Airborne) Field Coy., Royal Engineers. Age 29. Son of Frederick and Rhoda Alice Healey; husband of Thurza Healey, of Chester-le-Street, County Durham. Section Z Grave 22.

HUNTER, Sapper John Glen Vernon, 2110332. 9 (Airborne) Field Coy., Royal Engineers. Age 22. Son of John G. V. and Margaret Hunter, of Lennoxtown, Stirlingshire; stepson of Janet Hunter, of Lennoxtown. Section Z Grave 23.

JACQUES, Sapper William, 2114930. 261 (Airborne) Field Park Coy., Royal Engineers. Age 30. Son of Mr and Mrs Herbert Jacques; husband of Elizabeth Jacques, of Arnold, Nottinghamshire. Section Z Grave 24.

NORMAN, Sapper Robert, 2110268. 9 (Airborne) Field Coy., Royal Engineers. Age 22. Son of Robert and Annie A. Norman, of Brechin, Angus. Section Z Grave 25.

SIMKINS, Driver George, 1884423. 261 (Airborne) Field Park Coy., Royal Engineers. Age 30. Son of George and Alice Simkins; husband of Bessie Simkins, of Romford, Essex. Section Z Grave 26.

Four men severely injured were taken by the Germans to Stavanger Hospital. When the Gestapo realised they were too

ill to be interrogated, lethal injections were given (either poison or air bubbles). The bodies were disposed of at sea between Usken/Kvits Island and are now commemorated on the Brookwood Memorial:

CAIRNCROSS, Corporal James Dobson, 2110314. 9 (Airborne) Field Coy., Royal Engineers. Age 22. Son of Robert and Elizabeth Cairncross, of Hawick, Roxburghshire. Panel 5 Column 1.

FARRELL, Driver Peter Paul, 2010213. 9 (Airborne) Field Coy., Royal Engineers. Age 26. Son of Michael and Elizabeth Farrell; husband of Bridget Farrell, of Marylebone, London. Panel 7 Column 3.

MASTERS, Lance Corporal Trevor Louis, 1872832. 9 (Airborne) Field Coy., Royal Engineers. Age 25. Son of Harry and Lucinda Masters; husband of Teresa Jane Masters, of Cobh, County Cork, Irish Republic. Panel 5 Column 2.

SMITH, Sapper Eric John, 1892979. 9 (Airborne) Field Coy., Royal Engineers. Age 24. Son of Frank George and Daisy Amelia Smith; husband of Phyllis Smith, of Paddington, London. Panel 7 Column 1.

The remaining five men, uninjured in the crash-landing, were captured and taken across Norway to the Grini concentration camp thirty miles outside Oslo. On January 18, 1943 they were executed by firing squad in the Trandum Forest, their bodies being buried in a mass grave. With the liberation of Norway, the Norwegians forced the traitor Vidkun Quisling, the former Minister President of Norway, to help exhume the remains which were then reburied in the Commonwealth War Graves Plot in Oslo Western Civil Cemetery (below) at Vestre Gravlund:



BLACKBURN, Sapper James Frank, 1900803. 9 (Airborne) Field Coy., Royal Engineers. Age 28. Son of Frank George and Annie Jane Blackburn, of Isleworth, Middlesex; husband of Maisie Evelyn Blackburn. Section I Row B Grave 5.

BONNER, Sapper Frank, 1906932. 9 (Airborne) Field Coy., Royal Engineers. Age 25. Section I Row B Grave 23.

JACKSON, Lance Corporal Wallis Mahlon, 4537415. 9 (Airborne) Field Coy., Royal Engineers. Age 21. Son of Albert Edgar and Sarah Adelaide Jackson, of Meanwood, Leeds, Yorkshire. Section I Row B Grave 24.

WALSH, Sapper John Wilfred, 2073797. 9 (Airborne) Field Coy., Royal Engineers. Age 21. Son of John and Mary Walsh, of Stretford, Lancashire. Section I Row B Grave 21.

WHITE, Sapper Thomas William, 1875800. 9 (Airborne) Field Coy., Royal Engineers. Age 23. Son of Thomas and Ruth White, of Gilfach, Goch, Glamorgan. Section I Row B Grave 4.

HALIFAX W7801 'B' BAKER

Crashed at Helleland, Rogaland. The German Ortskommandant was informed and, guided by Lensmann Hovland from Flekkefjord, was quickly at the scene. Later Polish and Russian prisoners of war, together with German soldiers, removed the main part of the wrecked aircraft, other pieces being recovered by people living in the area. A considerable amount of small wreckage still remains to be seen on the point of impact and items were donated to the Royal Engineer Corps' museum at Brompton Barracks, Chatham, Kent, in 1982.

Entire seven-man crew killed outright and buried in the snow until the following spring when they were interred in herring boxes by local people. In May 1945 the remains were exhumed by British troops to be buried in Helleland Churchyard (opposite top):

Pilot

PARKINSON, Flight Lieutenant Arthur Roland, J/5470, RCAF. Age 26. Son of Arthur H. and Ethel Parkinson, of Lachine, Province of Quebec, Canada. Grave 4.

Co-pilot

SEWELL DE GENCY, Pilot Officer Garard Walter, 116942, RAF (VR). Age 20. Son of René Arnold and Suzanne Céline Lucie Sewell, of Bushey, Hertfordshire. Grave 7.

Navigators

HAWARD, Flying Officer Arnold Thomas Hayward, 115977, RAF (VR). Age 28. Son of Henry Horace and Lilian Mary Haward, of Cuddington, Cheshire. Grave 1.

THOMAS, Flight Lieutenant Arthur Edwin, 101580, RAF (VR). Age 32. Son of Edwin and Ethel Florence Maria Thomas; husband of Joan Cicely Thomas, of Bexhill, Sussex. Grave 6.

Flight Engineer

FALCONER, Sergeant James, 573120. RAF. Age 20. Son of Edward Smith and Jessie Falconer, of Edzell, Angus. Grave 5.

Wireless operator/air gunner

BUCKTON, Flight Sergeant Albert, 751516. RAF (VR). Age 23. Son of Charles Gregory and Elizabeth Buckton, of West Hartlepool, County Durham. Grave 2.

Air gunner

EDWARDS, Flight Sergeant George Mercier, 1259259. RAF (VR). Age 24. Son of George Henry and Sidona Edwards. Grave 3.

HORSA HS114

Came down approximately 2½ km north-east of Lensmannsgard, 400-500 metres north-west of Gasetjern, some four kilometres north from where the Halifax crashed. Crash site investigated by members of the Norwegian Aviation Historical Society who found small parts remaining, other pieces located in the possession of local people.

The two pilots were killed on impact as was Driver Pendlebury. The remainder were captured and shot near Egersund the same day. The spot (below) is now marked with the inscription 'Here 11 [sic] British soldiers 20 November 1942 were executed by the German occupation force'. All are now buried in Eiganes Churchyard, Stavanger:

Pilot

DAVIES, Pilot Officer Norman Arthur, 401422. RAAF. Age 28. Son of Herbert Arthur and Hannah Sophie Davies, of Melbourne, Victoria, Australia. Section Z Grave 9.

Co-pilot

FRASER, Pilot Officer Herbert John, 401601. RAAF. Age 28. Son of Herbert John and Ida Marion Fraser; husband of Elva Avery Fraser, of Bendigo, Victoria, Australia. Section Z Grave 10.

Officer in charge

ALLEN, Lieutenant Alex Charles, 137173. 261 (Airborne) Field Park Coy., Royal Engineers. Age 24. Son of Horace Charles and Edna Allen, of Hugglescote, Coalville, Leicestershire. Section Z Grave 13.

NCO in charge

KNOWLES, Lance Sergeant George, 1871585. 9 (Airborne) Field Coy., Royal Engineers. Age 28. Husband of Lilian May Knowles, of Bromley, Kent. Section Z Grave 14.

BAILEY, Sapper Ernest William, 1869293. 9 (Airborne) Field Coy., Royal Engineers. Age 31. Son of Walter and May Bailey; stepson of Mrs L. E. Bailey, of Paulsgrove, Hampshire. Section Z Grave 17.

BELFIELD, Driver John Thomas Vernon, 2016305. 261 (Airborne) Field Park Coy., Royal Engineers. Age 26. Son of Thomas Henry and Eliza Belfield, of Longnor, Staffordshire. Section Z Grave 5.

BEVAN, Sapper Howell, 2074196. 9 (Airborne) Field Coy., Royal Engineers. Age 22. Son of Lewis and Elizabeth Bevan; husband of Violet Irene Bevan, of Bermondsey, London. Section Z Grave 4.

BRAY, Lance Corporal Frederick William, 1884418. 261 (Airborne) Field Park Coy., Royal Engineers. Age 29. Son of George and Alice Bray; husband of Lily Beatrice Bray, of Edenbridge, Kent. Section Z Grave 3.

CAMPBELL, Lance Corporal Alexander, 1923037. 261 (Airborne) Field Park Coy., Royal Engineers. Age 24. Son of Alexander and Catherine E. Campbell, of Grangemouth, Stirlingshire. Section Z Grave 2.

FAULKNER, Sapper Thomas William, 2115238. 9 (Airborne) Field Coy., Royal Engineers. Age 22. Son of Charles Henry and Florence Faulkner, of Hereford. Section Z Grave 1.



GRUNDY, Sapper Charles Henry, 1886725. 9 (Airborne) Field Coy., Royal Engineers. Age 22. Son of Harold and Agnes Grundy, of Salford, Lancashire. Section Z Grave 18.

LEGATE, Sapper Herbert J., 1922713. 9 (Airborne) Field Coy., Royal Engineers. Section Z Grave 19.

PENDLEBURY, Driver Ernest, 2000197. 261 (Airborne) Field Park Coy., Royal Engineers. Age 25. Son of William and Polly Pendlebury; husband of Marjorie Pendlebury, of Batley, Yorkshire. Section Z Grave 7.

SMALLMAN, Sapper Leslie, 2068169. 261 (Airborne) Field Park Coy., Royal Engineers. Son of Thomas and Ellen Smallman, of Hednesford, Staffordshire. Section Z Grave 6.

STEPHEN, Sapper James May, 2010697. 261 (Airborne) Field Park Coy., Royal Engineers. Section Z Grave 8.

THOMAS, Corporal John George Llewellyn, 2076750. 261 (Airborne) Field Park Coy., Royal Engineers. Age 23. Son of Stephen and Maud Elizabeth Thomas, of Bath, Somerset. Section Z Grave 15.

WILLIAMS, Sapper Gerald Stanley, 1948916. 9 (Airborne) Field Coy., Royal Engineers. Age 18. Son of David Humphrey and Olive Williams, of Doncaster, Yorkshire. Section Z Grave 16.

HALIFAX 'A' APPLE Returned safely to base.





EXERCISE HEAVY WATER

The original boulder-strewn landing area for GROUSE at Songavatn. The re-enactment DZ was moved eight miles to the south because of peacetime constraints on safety.

Forty years later, on February 27, 1983, a small team of fifteen selected men from 3rd Commando Brigade, RM, parachuted onto the remote Hardanger Vidda with the purpose of following the route taken by their brave predecessors in 1943. It will be remembered that Operation GUNNERSIDE followed on the heels of Operation FRESHMAN, the disastrous attempt to achieve the same aim using commandos aboard Horsa gliders. We had several reasons for wishing to combine a military exercise with military history. Firstly, my regiment (Commando Logistic Regiment RM) was helping to sponsor the parachute training for 3rd Commando Brigade, RM, and a peacetime drop onto the Hardanger Vidda seemed an excellent culmination to this training. Secondly, I have a family connection with the story in that my great uncle helped to build the electrolysis plant. Thirdly, the survivors of Operation FRESHMAN were cruelly tortured and shot at random close to the regiments' temporary barracks in Norway, and lastly, it was almost exactly forty years since the famous raid took place.

For the exercise I needed experienced skiers with mountain and parachute training and it seemed appropriate to include representatives from all the units serving with 3rd Commando Brigade, RM. Volunteers were not difficult to find and the team reported to Gardermoen for briefing on February 24, 1983. The idea had received enthusiastic support from our headquarters from the start, and they alerted 'the Media'. As a result we found ourselves sponsoring a complete television crew of five from Television South West (TSW) with a further three from Norwegian Television. Additionally, we had up to nine Norwegian and British reporters following the re-enactment. Their presence and the requirement for effective safety and drop zone coverage on a remote and desolate plateau in Norway demanded a comprehensive support party of Volvo Bandvagn BV202 over-snow vehicles with effective signals coverage.

Before staging the re-enactment exercise, the team had a hectic programme to complete in Gardermoen. First of all we laid wreaths on the FRESHMAN 'memorial' graves at Oslo. Next the whole team (and many of the Logistic Regiment) were given a fascinating talk about the original raid in 1943 by the actual leader of Operation GUNNERSIDE, Colonel Joachim Ronneberg, DSO. In particular, he covered the 'orders' he gave to his team and the equipment they used. On the next day, February 26, a visit was made to the resistance museum in Oslo and we completed the final

parachute training drop (with equipment). All these exciting events were carefully recorded by the film crew.

On Sunday February 27 at 1130 hrs ('P' Hour) the drop was made onto the DZ to the east of Lake Bordalsvatnet. The C130 crew and the despatchers gave us marvellous support. The weather had prevented the helicopters getting in earlier to mark out the DZ so, to overcome the problem, a single despatcher was dropped from the C130 to mark the spot. The plane then came round again and the team dropped successfully



Before the exercise began a pilgrimage was made to the Trandum forest where a memorial marks the spot where Lance Corporal Wallis Jackson and Sappers Frank Bonner, Jim Blackburn, John Walsh and Tom White lost their lives at the hands of the Gestapo just over forty years previously.



without incident. The support helicopters (one Lynx and one Sea King) eventually overcame the weather, arriving at 1230 hrs after some rather hairy flying (thanks to the Brigade Air Squadron and No. 846 Naval Air Squadron). The press and TV reception on the DZ was impressively large, considering the remoteness of the area. After the inevitable photographs, the team divided into three tent groups and set off on skis, laden with extremely heavy Bergens (over 60 lbs), complete with sub-machine guns and camouflage whites (see kit list). I had divided the party into a recce party of mountain leaders (MLs) led by Major Hector Gullan (route finding) and two other equal-sized groups which followed immediately behind.

The first day proved very tough, with a hard

Sergeant D. Munnelly of the Commando Forces News Team pictured the descent from the Hercules — a far cry from the day when the original GUNNERSIDE group parachuted down on a night drop onto the frozen surface of Lake Skryken thirty miles to the north.

climb over a ridge and a long descent on skis in darkness — a real test of skiing prowess during which even the best fell from grace! The Recce Party could not resist the usual 'ML' tendency to climb every mountain in sight, to the horror and disbelief of the other groups. Camp was made well after dark on the shore of the Songavatn lake. Nineteen kilometres had been covered but not without the re-occurring blister problem caused by the ski-march boot. From now on our route coincided with the original one used by the GROUSE group in 1942.

Monday, February 28, dawned overcast with a temperature of -10°C and a fresh easterly wind blowing. We 'Pulled Pole' at 0800 hrs and made radio contact with the base on the PRC 320 radio set at 0900 hrs. We planned to use the PRC 349 as the inter-group radio but it seemed unwilling to perform in cold conditions (we finally discarded them at Rendezvous 1). The groups moved east across the frozen Songavatn (over ten feet of ice) and into Valasjadalen. The weather gradually deteriorated with the temperature dropping to -18°C and the wind increasing to well over





20 knots. Skiing conditions were dreadful and face masks had to be worn to prevent facial frostbite in the teeth of the cruel wind. By the time we made camp in the late evening, every man held the original members of Operation GROUSE in even higher esteem. Thirty-one kilometres had been covered during the day and everybody was suffering from a combination of fatigue and blistered feet. I shared a 'Ravenscar' tunnel tent with Majors Terry Knott and Roddy Macdonald, who proved to be very well organised compatriots, despite the tight squeeze.

On Tuesday, February 29, we followed the route down from the towering walls of Bitdalen to our first RV with the support party and a hectic meeting with the press and TV. More rations and fuel were drawn before pressing on to the next RV by the side of Lake Mösvatn. On the way we passed over the Skoland Marshes where they had planned to land the gliders on the fateful day of November 19, 1942. The going became flatter and the wind dropped, but we again covered about thirty kilometres and arrived well after dark — everyone was particularly exhausted because of the difficult trail breaking and excessively heavy packs. During the day we were paid a surprise visit by Duncan Baxter of *The Sunday Times*, who arrived by Gazelle in the middle of nowhere to take our pictures.

TEAM MEMBERS — EXERCISE HEAVY WATER

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Lt Col Ivar Hellberg OBE RCT (Leader), CDO LOG REGT RM | 9. Corporal Al Heward RM, M&AW CADRE |
| 2. Major Terry Knott MC RM (D/Leader), CDO LOG REGT RM | 10. Corporal Chris Aston RM, 42 CDO RM |
| 3. Major Roddy MacDonald MBE RE, 59 INDEP CDO SQN RE | 11. Corporal Steve Nichol RM, 45 CDO GP |
| 4. Major Hector Gullan MBE MC PARA, HQ 3 CDO BDE RM | 12. Corporal Jan Drew RM, CDO LOG REGT RM |
| 5. Captain Albert Whitley RE, HQ 3 CDO BDE RM | 13. Marine Steve Duggan RM, CDO LOG REGT RM |
| 6. Sergeant Steve Thomas RA, 29 CDO REGT RA (148 BTY) | 14. Marine David Gooding RM, CDO LOG REGT RM |
| 7. Corporal Steve Oliver RM, HQ & SIGS SQN RM | 15. Marine Andrew Giles RM, CDO LOG REGT RM |
| 8. Corporal Tim Halleron RM, M&AW CADRE | 16. Lt Col Keith Eve RA (Drop only), 148 BTY 29 CDO REGT RA |

BV 202/Film/PR Support Group

Lieutenant Bootland RN (IC)
Sergeant Munnelly (PR)
Corporal Sankey RM
Marine Panther RM
Marine Jago RM
Marine Phillips RM
Marine Blain RM (Chef)

Rjukan Base (Communications)

WOII Sawyer RM (IC)
Sergeant Graham R SIGS
Corporal Hannah RM
Corporal Lightfoot RM
Marine Butcher RM
Marine Gosling RM
Marine Hall RM
Marine Murray RM
Marine Trafford RM



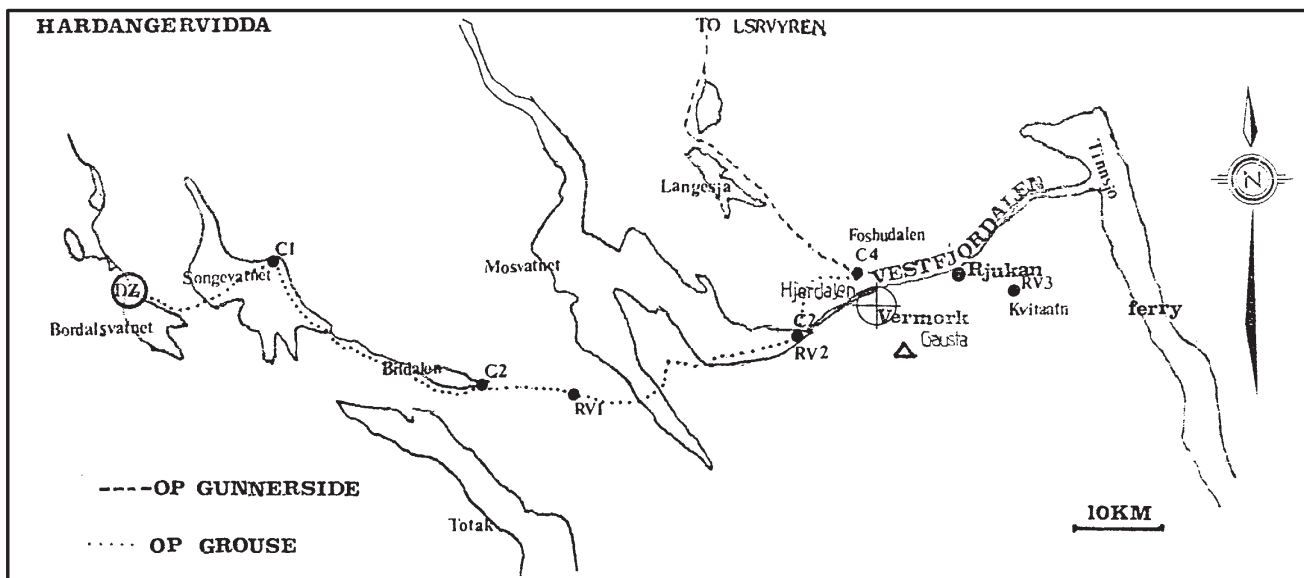


On Wednesday, March 2, the route took us across Mösvatn and over the ridge to Hjer-dalen. As we crossed the lake, a small figure caught us up at great speed and introduced himself as Knut Haugland (the radio operator of Operation GROUSE/GUNNERSIDE). We were all impressed by his obvious fitness and open enthusiasm for our venture. He explained in detail the routes they had used and the huts they had occupied and he also showed us exactly where the Horsa gliders should have landed in 1942. He had been fishing since early morning through holes in the ice and had already caught thirty red fish. The weather soon cleared to a blue sky and the best possible skiing conditions. Our light helicopter returned (piloted by David Minords — CO Brigade Air Squadron) and took some of us to the top of the best skiing mountains to enable the TV crew to film some skiing sequences. The remainder of the team performed the same 'service' for Norwegian Television. Late that evening we climbed up to Fosbudalen, the beautiful hanging valley from which the Operation GUNNERSIDE commandos had secretly mounted their operation. It is a perfect hide, protected by steep descents and unidentifiable from the valleys below or the objective at Vermork. That night the recce party set off to find the best point for crossing the deep gorge which leads to the heavy water plant. In the meantime, I went off with Major Roddy MacDonald to recce the steep descent from Fosbudalen down to the valley itself.

Both routes proved to be most demanding but quite possible, although there were no obvious vantage points for the film crews to work from. On March 3 — the final day of the exercise — we left our heavy kit and Bergens in the tents at Fosbudalen. At 0930 hrs the three teams departed on skis down the very steep gorge. It was one of the most exciting short ski runs of the trip; boulders and trees were littered everywhere, demanding frequent changes of direction, and one or two failed to make the turns in time. We took off our skis for the final descent before reaching the road where an even bigger TV/Press reception had assembled. A final recce was then made of the gorge crossing, with the expert assistance of Jens Poulsson (leader of Operation GROUSE) and Arne Kjelstrup (his second in command).

Knut Haugland, one of the original GROUSE group dropped near Lake Songavatn in October 1942, met the Heavy Water team as they crossed Lake Mösvatn.





I decided to divide the team into two groups, one to follow the original route between Rjukan and Vermork, while the main group crossed under the suspension bridge for the benefit of the film crews. Major Terry Knott was 'volunteered' to carry the sound recorder for a TV commentary of the crossing. All went well until he could no longer resist the temptation to recite his favourite polar bear joke whilst climbing up the deep snow on the southern face of the gorge. TSW are still working out its significance! The climb down and up the two hundred foot gorge was not particularly difficult, although it was loose and some of the boulders and trees were most unstable. Once we reached the plant, our mission had been accomplished and Jens

Sketch map from the operational report for Exercise Heavy Water detailing the route followed to Vermork.

Poulsson honoured us with a personal conducted tour of the old site of the heavy water plant. He showed us the precise spots where every man in the original raid stood and moved. Inevitably the film crews wanted many photographs and even re-enactments of us 'assaulting' the plant!

After the action was over it only remained for us to ski back up to Fosbudalen in order to break camp and return with our Bergens. It was this last descent, carrying very heavy loads on skis down a very steep, tree-covered slope which caused great consternation. There are many ways of stopping when all else fails and,

as terminal velocity approaches, many men resort to what we call the 'racing snow-plough break stop' (very uncomfortable!) and ultimately the tree-stop (embarrassingly uncomfortable!). It was the latter method that Major Knott resorted to in desperation whilst travelling elegantly but at great speed down the mountainside. Regrettably, the tree he selected was rotten and you can imagine his surprise when, having grasped it firmly, the complete tree broke off and carried on with him for some distance before the inevitable spectacular crash. The whole team spent that night safely back in the Kvitavtn Hotel near



Major Terry Knott admires the beautiful hanging valley at Fosbudalen from where the commandos had launched their attack.



Rjukan, managed by Rod Tuck (a former Major of the Royal Marines).

The following day (March 4) we met a number of the distinguished members of the original raid in 1943 and, having covered the route ourselves, we were better able to ask questions. We were particularly interested in the equipment they used, the kit they carried

and the food they managed to survive on for months on the desolate Hardanger Vidda. We have much to learn from these men, who had marched light (although they had heavy loads to carry, e.g. radios, batteries and explosives) and who were able to survive for weeks, sleeping under the snow without proper sleeping bags, let alone tents. A number of

Above: The original GUNNERSIDE approach route traced on a photograph taken prior to 1962 when the heavy water factory was still standing (W. H. Allen). Below: Looking in a westerly direction from the Lynx in February 1984. The hanging valley can be seen on the extreme right.





Lieutenant Colonel Hellberg briefs his team in Fosbudalen prior to the 'attack' on the factory complex.

them used a simple survival bag with a waterproof bottom and breathable top — the insulation and wind protection being provided by snow.

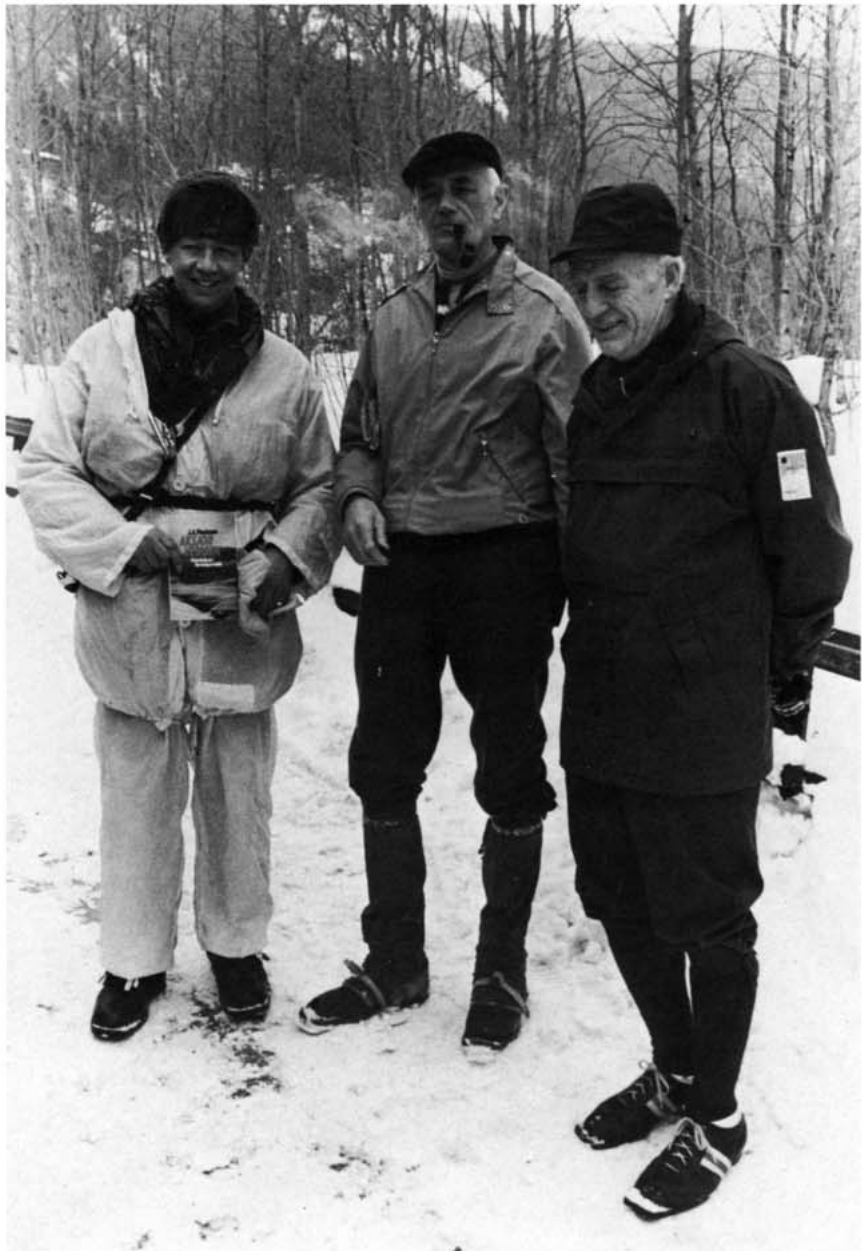
An excellent reception and lunch at Kvitavatn was arranged by Rod Tuck and financed by TSW for which we were most grateful. At 1430 hrs the helicopter and vehicles departed from the Rjukan area carrying the team and support party back to their units in preparation for Exercise COLD WINTER in the far north of Norway.

During the four days of Exercise HEAVY WATER we covered over one hundred kilometres following almost exactly the route of the most successful commando raid of World War 2. It was an unforgettable experience for all of us who took part, and we are thankful to have completed it without serious injury. We are most grateful to all those who helped us stage this exercise and in particular we thank our hard worked support team, led by Lieutenant Eric Bootland, RN, and the Special Services C130 crew. We were also flattered by the keen interest shown in our venture by the TSW team. In the end we were left with a boundless sense of admiration for the courage and determination of the men involved in Operations GROUSE and GUNNERSIDE, and we pay them our humble tribute for their amazing achievements.

ORIGINAL MEMBERS OF OPERATION GROUSE/GUNNERSIDE WHOM WE MET

Joachim Ronneburg (Leader GUNNERSIDE)
 Jens Poulsson (Leader GROUSE)
 Knut Haugland (GROUSE)
 Arne Kjelstrup (GROUSE)
 Claus Helberg (GROUSE)
 Knut Hansen (sinking of ferry)

'But for these men.' Never was a description more apt than that accorded to the ten Norwegians of the GROUSE-GUNNERSIDE teams who may well have been responsible for saving civilisation by their successful destruction of Germany's source of atomic-related material. The leader of Exercise Heavy Water pictured with two of them: Jens Poulsson, leader of the GROUSE group with a member of his unit, Arne Kjelstrup.





THE HEROES OF TELEMARK

BY TREVOR POPPLE

The Heroes of Telemark, released in 1965, is not a well-remembered film when compared with its contemporaries of the 'secret mission' genre of the sixties like *The Guns of Navarone*, *The Train* or *Operation Crossbow*. These films, unlike *Telemark*, have been often televised and consequently kept in the public eye. At the time of its release the critics generally dismissed it as another war film — 'a boys' adventure story' as *The Sunday Times* would have it. This reaction is not really surprising if one considers the release of at least thirty-three major British and American war films between 1952 and 1957. The sixties elevated the war film to epic proportions bringing about the release of around eighteen varying offerings between 1960 and 1965 including classics like *The Longest Day* and *The Great Escape*. Therefore one can perhaps understand (but not necessarily agree with) the critics' rather dismissive attitude as *Telemark* appeared before them fresh off what must have seemed at the time like an endless production line. *The Sunday Times*, having already disparagingly categorised the film, expressed a preference for a documentary that dealt with the same theme entitled *Operation Swallow*. This was a Franco-Norwegian co-production first seen in the UK in 1952 that was shot in Norway and featured survivors who had taken part in the raid amongst its cast.

S. Benjamin Fisz (who gained renown with aviation buffs in later years for producing *Battle of Britain* and *Aces High*) was in a London library researching another project and accidentally came across *Skis against the Atom* by Lieutenant-Colonel Knut Haugland DSO, MC (later to be appointed technical adviser). The story excited Fisz and he

Centre front is Richard Harris accompanied by eight of his men. This picture was taken about ten miles up towards Hardanger Plateau beside an original cabin. For film historians the ski-ing sequences and their photography by Robert Krasker were the high point of the production. Norwegian ski-ing champions were hired to coach the actors and Olympic coach Helge Stoylen actually carried a Panavision camera between his legs bringing in some remarkable shots. The Norwegian co-operation was, in Douglas's opinion, of a kind seldom encountered.



A staged publicity shot of Kirk Douglas with Ulla Jacobsson as his ex-wife Anna overlooking the Vermork heavy water plant. In 1942 the Rjukan power station was reputed to be one of the largest in the world developing 240,000 hp. Today it is all that remains.



commissioned Ivan Moffat and Ben Barzman to write a draft screenplay based upon Haugland's autobiographical account and John Drummond's *But for These Men*.

For his director Fisz secured the services of Anthony Mann, who had a list of many varied films to his credit, numbering among them *The Glenn Miller Story*, *Fall of the Roman Empire* and *El Cid*. Sadly, *The Heroes of Telemark* was the last film that Mann completed. He died suddenly on location in Germany from a heart attack on April 29, 1967 whilst shooting the spy drama *A Dandy in Aspic*. Although released bearing his name the film had in fact been completed by its 'star' Laurence Harvey.

With the working title 'Unknown Battle', research and pre-planning commenced on March 2, 1964 under the auspices of Benton Film Productions (a company created by Fisz and Mann). However, about six weeks earlier, on January 22, the project had been brought to public notice by a piece in the *Daily Mail* stating that Grace Kelly had turned down the principal female role of Anna despite a reputed one million dollar fee (then, about £350,000). Elke Sommer had been signed up for £50,000 according to the *Mail* but in the event the part went to Ulla Jacobsson, an actress better known on the Continent at that time. *Telemark* was to be her second British film; the first had been Stanley Baker's *Zulu*.

By the beginning of April financial problems had manifested, and the pre-production team was disbanded. Seven months later Benton Film Productions proved to be in a healthier monetary condition and the pre-production was resumed with, fortunately, the bulk of the original team. The desired target was a mid-January 1965 start.

The square in Rjukan suitably cast back in time. The town hall on the right transforms well into the German headquarters surrounded by the 'iced-in' fencing. The German troops were in reality soldiers of the Norwegian army whilst the bulk of the vehicles and artillery, such as the 88mm Flak anti-aircraft gun and the 20mm Flakvierling 38 to the left, were of German origin. Exceptions are two Humber scout cars and a Bofors 40mm anti-aircraft gun set near the masked statue in the centre of the square. The 'German' armoured car beside the Bofors is in reality a Canadian-built Fox. The vehicles and weapons were supplied by Tony Oliver. Note that the statue of Sam Eyde in the centre has been cleverly boxed over.





Left: This specially constructed cabin occupied by Ulla Jacobsson and Michael Redgrave (where 'Uncle' was shot dead) was towed up to its location after it was built. **Right:** A 'rock' about to be hauled up into position for an ambush scene. In actual fact it was made at Pinewood from a metal frame and



fibreglass. A net was placed out of sight below the wall at the roadside to catch it for the purpose of safety and retaining it for re-takes. On the first take it rolled down on cue perfectly, hit the road, bounced, missed the net and demolished a shed in the town! (Alan Tomkins)

Production Designer Tony Masters concluded that since eighty per cent of the film would be shot on location in Norway, Pinewood Studios would only be required for about four weeks to complete the interiors — although filming actually commenced with some exteriors at Poole Harbour in Dorset on November 30. After that the whole art department and construction crew could move en masse to Rjukan, the principal location. By December 27 the 120-strong unit and cast were in Norway ready to embark on an eight-week shoot.

The film's major acting roles went to Richard Harris as Knut Straud and Kirk Douglas as Dr Rolf Pedersen, a Norwegian scientist at Oslo University. None of the actors portrayed any actual figures. It would appear — as so often happens — that characters were amalgamated so as not to over-complicate the

screenplay. Harris played Straud as a cool, tough, ruthless professional totally committed to the destruction of the German nuclear development programme.

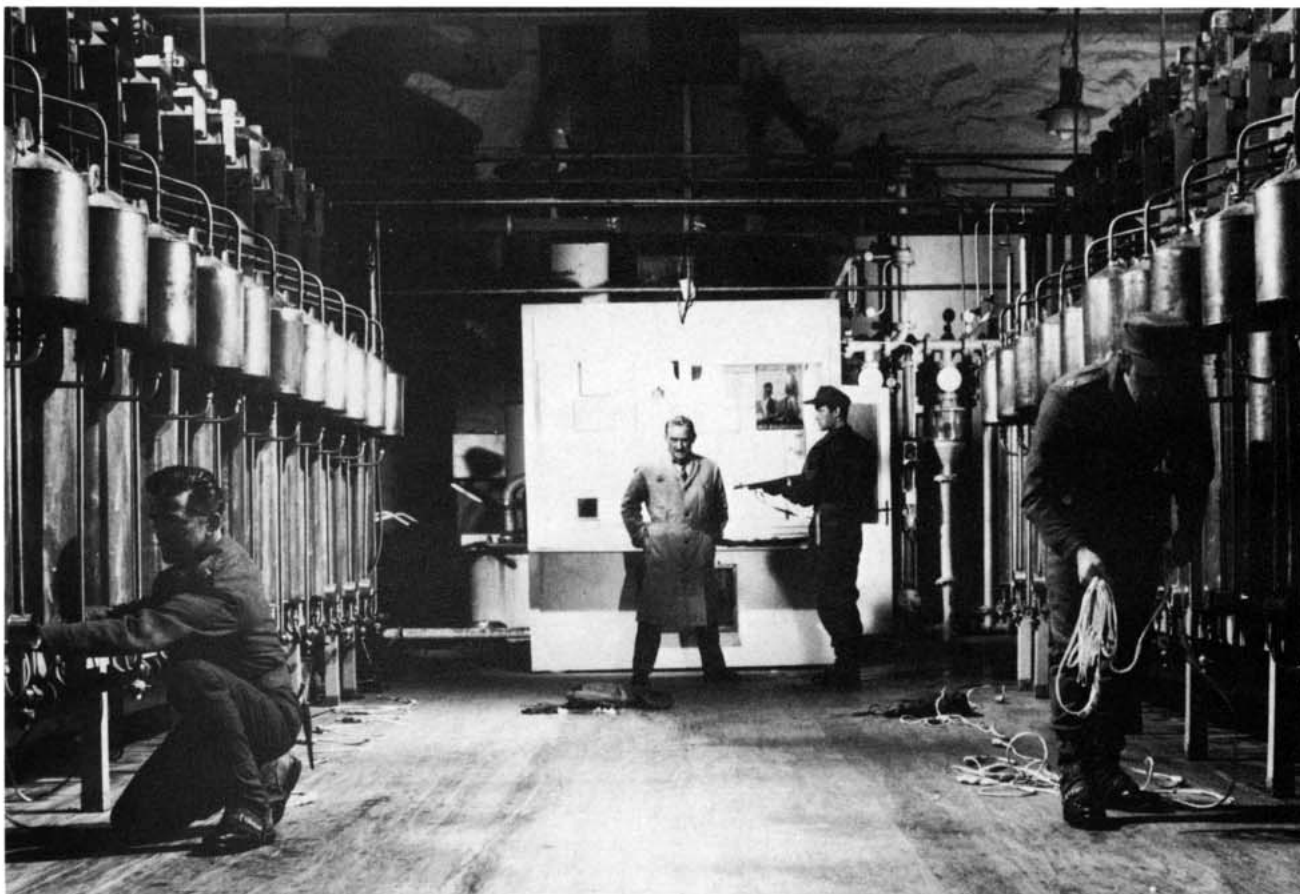
The character played by Douglas was written as a kind of playboy-scientist equally happy to be entwined with a delectable female research assistant or labouring over his microscope. During the course of the film Douglas is re-united with his ex-wife Anna (purportedly true) and there is the inevitable nocturnal reconciliation.

Michael Redgrave played Uncle, a benign figure who ultimately dies for the cause,

choosing to shoot it out with the crew of a German radio detector van rather than meekly surrender the resistance group's valuable wireless. In the process he confirms the author's firmly held belief in never challenging two cocked Schmeisser machine-pistols with a barely accessible shotgun!

It was perhaps the shallowness and predictability of these characters that brought down the bulk of the adverse criticism upon the production. This was unfortunate: it was excellently photographed and Mann's directorial technique was fully utilised in capturing the stark, cold Norwegian exteriors

No subterfuge required here — this is the genuine article. The actual room in the factory where the GUNNERSIDE/GROUSE team laid their explosives twenty years before was used to authentically re-create the scene for the film. Naturally the electrolysis cells could not be blown up again so some dummies made of lead were introduced to depict the damage caused by the explosion.



on film. Probably the saddest of all is that the lightweight characterisation detracted from the indisputable heroic deeds of the partisans involved; the risks taken; and the suffering experienced. The film did not do justice to those brave men and women, by virtue of the fact that it was compelled to be commercial if it was to succeed; and in this also it failed. It was not a great box-office success. Although one explanation for this was a change of public attitudes; the preference being for anti-war themes, or the blackly humorous like *The Dirty Dozen*.

If there was conflict on screen between Straud and Petersen, then there was supposedly also conflict off-screen between Harris and Douglas — the reason being opposing methods of approach to their craft. Whether true or not, or just exaggerated, a little snatch of behind-the-camera back-biting can always be twisted to the publicity agent's advantage. Anthony Mann and Kirk Douglas had worked together before. The film was the excellent *Spartacus*, when after the completion of only sixteen minutes of scenes Mann had departed, to be replaced by Stanley Kubrick. The official line was that there had been 'a very marked difference of opinion on many artistic matters' between the director and the star. Unofficially it was reported that Mann considered that Douglas had exerted too much authority on the set. Nevertheless whatever the problems had been on *Spartacus*, Mann and Douglas got through *Telemark* without major conflict.

The non-reality of the chief characters (not to mention Eric Porter's sinister German officer with Himmler-like, wire-framed spectacles) failed to support so many positive factors that lent authenticity to the production, as well as so much hard work carried out by the unit under arduous conditions.

The four prime pluses were: (i) the unit was allowed to film in the town of Rjukan; (ii) film interiors and exteriors were shot where the heavy water had been produced in 1943 at the



Vehicles courtesy of Tony Oliver. Suspension bridge across the gorge original — see picture at the top of page 11. The pillboxes at the far end were constructed for the film, the original German foundation being used for the one on the right.



The initial assault on the factory. The film world may deceive the eye in so many ways, but deep snow and sub-zero temperatures cannot be totally duplicated. It can be done in some measure. Mounds of salt are used for drifts or packed snow as

it crunches under foot realistically, whilst a foam solution is sprayed onto foliage. A bright blue sky adds to the illusion, as does appropriate make-up for the actors, but the lack of condensation on the breath is always a give-away.

Vermork factory, owned by the Norsk Hydro Company, while it was being renovated; (iii) the company obtained the use of the sister ferry to the *Hydro* sunk by a time bomb on Lake Tinnsjø on February 20, 1944 as she carried a shipment of heavy water bound for Germany; and (iv) the Norwegian climate with its deep crisp snow that looked wonderful on film but created problems for the unit.

Alan Tomkins (the Art Director responsible for the excellent authentic set re-creations in *A Bridge Too Far*) was a member of the Art Department on the *Telemark* production and recalls some of the trials and tribulations during the shooting. The team had spent a month at Pinewood preparing working drawings that would transform Rjukan back to 1944. These included German pill-boxes, sentry boxes, huts, etc., but building these units in extreme conditions produced their own sets of problems. For example, it was necessary on one occasion to get a five-gallon drum of anti-freeze to mix with the paints to prevent their freezing. However, nobody considered the strict regulations concerning the possession of alcohol in Norway and before very long the unit had a lot of happy painters and an empty five-gallon drum! The weather contributed positively, though, when it came to setting up fortifications around the town square, which was to be the site of the German headquarters. Holes were dug, the barricade poles inserted, and the excavations simply filled with water until it froze hard like concrete.

Authenticity was added in other ways in the form of small props; a Norsk factory worker had picked up Knut Haugland's original wire cutters the morning after the raid and he loaned them to the unit so that the same length of factory fencing could be cut with them once again. Haugland's radio set was



Gün Sorenson, who was employed as the unit's interpreter, revealed that she was the daughter of the *Hydro*'s master Captain Erling Sorenson. After the sinking he was rescued from the lake and interrogated by the Germans for a number of days. Reluctant at first, he finally agreed to appear as himself in a brief sequence aboard the bridge.

also employed, and, generally speaking, the townspeople of Rjukan were very co-operative with the unit who were re-creating the darker and sadder aspects of the town's history

(unlike some inhabitants of Sainte-Mère-Eglise during the shooting of *The Longest Day*, who wanted to get at the extras dressed as German infantrymen).



The 'new' railway ferry 'Hydro' ready to depart across Lake Tinnsjø with the heavy water consignment. The locomotive had been removed from an Oslo museum to lend authenticity.

The leather-coated officer receiving the salute is Anton Diefing who through the fifties and sixties cornered the market when German officers were in demand.



On release, some critics disagreed with each other about aspects of the film. *The Guardian* described the sinking of the *Hydro* as 'technically poor, a mere squib compared with the explosions in *Guns of Navarone*, whereas Leonard Mosley writing for the *Daily Express* called it 'one of the most spectacular screen shipwrecks I have ever seen'.

Perhaps Jeanine Basinger in her biography of Anthony Mann sums the picture up best: '*Heroes of Telemark* should have been a great film . . . an epic adventure [it] has moments of genuine tension but its smaller, personal stories were simply not as interesting as the events they were set against. Furthermore, its climactic high point came before it was half

The train ferry between Tinnoset and Mael provided the only direct link with the Rjukan Railway. Richard Harris and Ulla Jacobsson guide their motor launch across Lake Tinnsjø towards the 'Hydro' in anticipation of the time-bomb exploding in an attempt to pick up survivors. The perspective of this photograph belies the fact that this 'ferry' is a mock-up only one quarter full-size complete with scaled down railway engines and rolling stock. It was designed to be sunk and refloated as the director required, but after the third sinking it refused to re-surface and lies to this day with the wreck of the original 'Hydro' sunk in February 1944.

over . . . Despite moments of excitement to follow, it never again reaches the same peak. [It] bogs down in its plot complications, particularly in a sub-plot involving Douglas and his ex-wife.'

Nevertheless, made twenty years after the raid it portrayed, it provides a foil against

which can be set the re-enactment of the operation by Lieutenant-Colonel Hellberg's team another twenty years on. The fact that the factory was still standing for the film-makers to re-create unique footage on the actual location, gives the film an historic content which cannot be lightly dismissed.



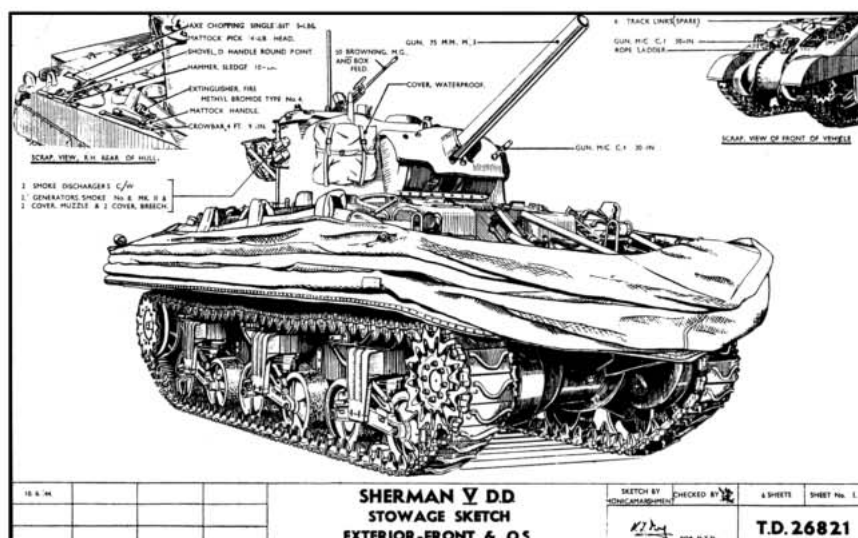
Panicking Germans and Norwegian civilians alike struggle to survive as the 'Hydro' founders, and Kirk Douglas's double in a light blue anorak swings down the rope from a lifeboat davit — not on Lake Tinnsjø however, but in the tank at Pinewood studios! At the top of this picture can be seen the edge of the cyclorama on which the Norwegian lake's skyline was painted including some water to give a greater depth of field. The join is just behind the two men in rowing boats. A full-size rear

section of the ferry was built (from wood — even the rivets were ply) and operated by a hydraulic ram that governed the angle of the vessel as it 'foundered' to suit the director's needs. It has to be said that the transition between the real ferry, the mock-up and the sequence in the tank cuts together marvellously; the only giveaway being when the model locomotives career down the sloping deck into the lake — their size and lack of 'weight' are at odds with the scale of the water.

BY STEVE CASELY

rear. Across the front of the hull the frame dipped towards the centre like a 'V-necked pullover. This helped to form the bow shape when the screen was erected by inflating thirty-six rubber tubes sewn into the screen so as to be vertical when inflated. This operation was carried out by compressed air from two bottles mounted on the hull front. Once erected, this flimsy structure was reinforced with thirteen locking steel struts. These were intended to hold the screen in place if any of the rubber tubes were punctured. An upper, middle and lower tubular frame of steel which ran horizontally around the vehicle held the

On January 27, 1944 a demonstration of the Duplex Drive drew considerable interest from one of the observers, General Eisenhower, and he was so impressed with the swimming tank that he directed they should also be used to support the United States divisions in the forthcoming assault. However when General Hobart pointed out that the manufacturing



Top: Conventional dry landing on the Slapton assault beach on March 30, 1944 during Operation Beaver. While the air intake and exhaust extension increased the fording depth of the Sherman to six feet in surf, the DD conversion (*above*) enabled the tank to come ashore under its own steam from several thousand yards out.



Ken Small, ex-RAF, ex-police force, ex-ladies' hairdresser from Lincolnshire, in earnest discussion with Jim Perrot of Cummings Plant Hire during the recovery operation in May 1984.

screen in shape and braced it against the water pressure outside. The rubberised canvas was sewn to metal strips which in turn were fixed to these frames. The screen thickness was doubled below the middle frame and trebled below the lower frame. The screen was clamped to the base frame flange with bolted-on steel strips, backed with sponge rubber to make the joint watertight. When the locking struts were hydraulically unlocked and the air released, it could be folded down to hull level and stowed by means of heavy elastic bands attached to steel rings on the inside face. As the ball-mounted hull machine gun was obscured by the screen, even when lowered, it was not normally fitted.

Once afloat the DDs were driven at a speed of about five knots by two rear-mounted, 26-inch diameter, contra-rotating bronze propellers. Standard drive sprockets were mounted on the outer face of each rear idler and their teeth engaged the track. Power was transmitted to the propellers through ninety degrees via a bevel gear and pinion. Steering the DD whilst afloat was effected by pivoting the propellers to port or starboard either hydraulically by the driver inside or manually by the commander. His position was standing on a small platform welded to the starboard rear of the turret. He was supplied with a detachable tiller, a compass, giving course corrections for the driver's directional gyroscope and two sighting rods fitted to the forward upper screen frame. Periscope extensions could also be fitted for the driver and for the commander if he was manning his normal position in the turret.

The overall height of the tank with screen raised was thirteen feet, as opposed to nine feet with screen lowered. The available freeboard varied from three feet to four feet at the bow and two feet six inches to three feet at the stern, which was dependent on the particular mark of Sherman employed in the conversion. The driver had at his disposal a small electrically-driven bilge pump which could evacuate water from either inside the hull proper or from inside the boat hull.

Tactically speaking, the DD tank did have its advantages. It presented a small target when at sea; it would surprise the enemy as it came ashore, dropped its screen and engaged them in a matter of seconds and would also reduce risks to the safety of the LCT as they could stand well off the beaches during the initial action resulting from the first assault.

To the crew of the vehicle, however, the

story was completely different. They, apart from the commander if he was outside and the driver who possibly had a periscope extension, could neither see nor hear anything outside. What they did know was that with the top of their tank below sea level, there would be very little chance of escape if the flotation equipment were to be damaged, causing the vehicle to be swamped and to sink like a stone.

In *After the Battle* No. 44 we described the development and use of the Slapton Assault Training Area in south Devon and it was here during one of the exercises in 1944 that two United States Navy Tank Landing Craft each discharged four DD Shermans from A Company, 70th Tank Battalion, two of which surged forward down the ramp and into the sea without their belly drainage plates in place. Once launched the vehicles could not regain the relative safety of the LCT and they had no alternative but to try to reach the beach. One Sherman made it to within 200 yards before foundering; the other, an American-built, cast-hulled, M4A1, sank in 65 feet of water, approximately three quarters of a mile off shore. No lives were lost, but unlike the first tank which was recovered at the time by the Americans, this vehicle plunged to the bottom to settle on its tracks, gun towards the beach, there to remain for forty years.

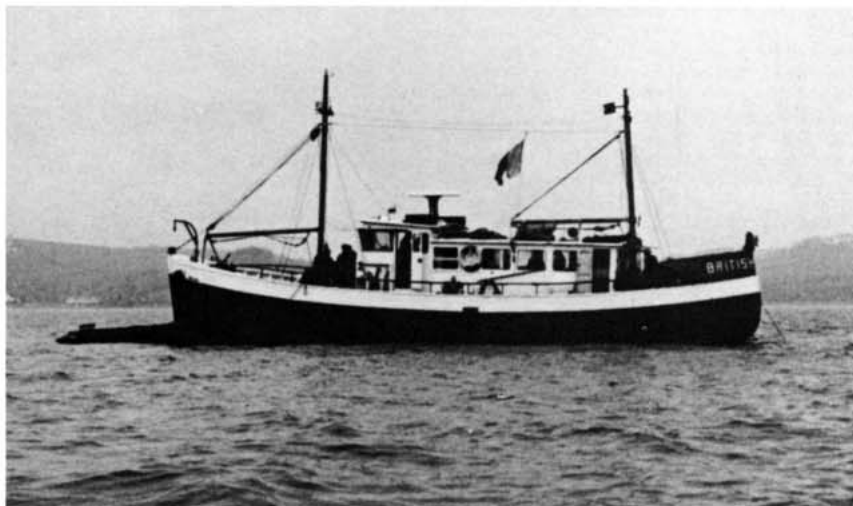
It was Mr Kenneth Small who made real in 1984 a dream which he had had since 1974,

that one day the sunken Sherman would stand on Slapton's beach as a memorial to those American servicemen who died without recognition off the South Devon coast when, on the night of April 27/28, 1944 two LSTs taking part in 'Operation Tiger' were sunk and two others were damaged by German Schnellbootes (see *After the Battle* No. 44).

Ken had come to live at Torcross on purchasing the Cove House Guest House in 1968 and first heard about the existence of a tank on the seabed from a friend, local boat-owner and fisherman, Tony Steer, in 1971. After having dived on the wreck site himself and recognising the vehicle as a Sherman tank, he began toying with the idea of trying to purchase it and on October 29, 1973 made his first attempt at establishing the true ownership of the tank by writing to HM Customs and Excise at Dartmouth for advice on who to approach. They replied suggesting that he contacted the American Embassy in London. This he did, and their reply referred him to the Defence Supply Agency in Alexandria, Virginia. Towards the end of January 1974 Ken received a reply saying that the legal status of the Sherman was being established. The following month another letter from Lieutenant Colonel A. T. Busweld stated that although demilitarisation requirements for the tank had been adequately covered by its immersion in salt water for thirty-one years, it still could not be

SALE OF GOVERNMENT PROPERTY NEGOTIATED SALES CONTRACT		CONTRACT NUMBER 50-5049-001		PAGE 1 OF 1 PAGES	
(1) This contract is entered into by and between the United States of America, hereinafter called the "Government", represented by the Contracting Officer executing this contract and the Purchaser below identified. The Government agrees to sell and the Purchaser agrees to buy the material described below in accordance with the <u>General Sale Terms and Conditions, SF-114C, Jan. 1970 ed., incorporated herein by reference</u> and the terms and conditions specified on this and on any continuation pages attached hereto. (2) The Purchaser agrees to make full payment within <u>15</u> days and to remove the property within <u>—</u> days after the date of the notice of award.					
ITEM	PROPERTY DESCRIPTION AND LOCATION	QUANTITY (No. of units)	UNIT	UNIT PRICE	AMOUNT
1	LOCATION: Off the coast of South Devon, England SHERMAN TANK (otherwise unidentified) as described on attached Agreement	1	EA	\$50.00	\$50.00
PURCHASER REPRESENTS: (Check appropriate boxes) (1) He ☐ has, ☐ has not, inspected the property covered by this contract. (2) That he ☐ is, ☐ is not, an individual or a small business concern. (See CFR, Title 13, Chapter 1, Part 121, Sec. 121.3-9, for the definition of small business.) (Complete the following only when the total amount shown above is more than \$5,000.) (3) (a) He ☐ has, ☐ has not, employed or retained any company or person (other than a full-time, bona fide employee working solely for the Bidder) to solicit or secure this contract, and (b) he ☐ has, ☐ has not, paid or agreed to pay any company or person (other than a full-time, bona fide employee working solely for the Bidder) any fee, commission, percentage or brokerage fee, contingent upon or resulting from the award of this contract; and agrees to furnish information relating to (a) and (b) above as requested by the Contracting Officer. (For interpretation of the representation, including the term "bona fide employee", see CFR, Title 41, Subpart 101-45.3) INDICATE WHETHER ☐ INDIVIDUAL ☐ PARTNERSHIP ☐ CORPORATION, INCORPORATED IN THE STATE OF					
EXECUTION BY PURCHASER DATE <u>27th August 1974</u> NAME OF PURCHASER <u>KENNETH SMALL</u> ADDRESS (Street, city, state & ZIP Code. Type or print) <u>The Cove House, Torcross Kingsbridge</u> <u>South Devon, England</u> SIGNATURE AND TITLE OF PERSON AUTHORIZED TO SIGN THIS CONTRACT (Type or print name and title under signature) <u>Kenneth Small</u> BUDGET BUREAU NO. 29-R0022			EXECUTION BY GOVERNMENT UNITED STATES OF AMERICA DATE <u>25 Nov 1974</u> NAME AND TITLE OF CONTRACTING OFFICER <u>SALLY S. NAGATA</u> <u>Sales Contracting Officer</u> (Agency) THIS CONTRACT IS AUTHORIZED BY AND NEGOTIATED PURSUANT TO THE FOLLOWING LAW: <u>DPDS Battle Creek Mich R 081612Z May 74.</u> STANDARD FORM 114E JAN. 1970 EDITION GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION FPMR (41 CFR) 101-45.3 114-601		

Sale of the century. With American expenditure on the war stated as \$100,000,000,000 per year with around \$3 hundred million of that being spent on tank production (much of which was centered on the huge Chrysler Tank Arsenal at Detroit), Ken Small's purchase must be considered quite a bargain! Even today the resale price of a Sherman can be £1,500-£5,000.



The British Diver on station over the submerged Sherman on May 16 flying the international recognition flag signalling that diving is in progress. She was built in Scotland as a motor fishing vessel and converted five years ago for use by the British Sub-Aqua Club. Fort Bovisand diving school at Plymouth took her over and improved her in conjunction with the Club when she was running at a loss. She was an ideal base for the Sherman recovery, having both a low pressure compressor for the inflation of the lifting bags and a high pressure compressor for recharging the diver's air cylinders.

considered as abandoned, but that it would be possible to sell him the vehicle through the Defense Property Disposal Service, Wiesbaden, Germany.

Ken wrote to Wiesbaden in March and was sent an informal draft agreement with a request for him to make them an offer for the tank. In reply to this request, Ken rang Miss Nagata and offered the princely sum of one pound sterling. In the end fifty dollars was the figure finally agreed to cover the administrative cost of producing the contract of sale.

It was at this point that problems began to arise. HM Customs and Excise Receiver of Wrecks received a copy of Sales Contract 50-5049-001 and the Northampton office wrote to the American Defense Property Disposal Office at RAF Molesworth, Huntingdonshire, on August 5, 1974 laying out certain points which would deter the contract proceeding. They informed Ken that in their view negotiations should be terminated as

- (i) The tank may not be US Forces material and it would be difficult to prove whether it was Canadian or British.
- (ii) No private person would be allowed to purchase the tank.
- (iii) Possible conflict with the host country might occur if the tank was raised.
- (iv) Demilitarisation would have to be carried out before any movement could take place.

An official from Molesworth presented Ken with his recommendations in person at Cove House on his way to the Receiver of Wrecks office at Plymouth. They in turn wrote saying that after further consultations, the United States authorities were withdrawing their offer to sell him the rights in the Sherman laying off Torcross. They further stated that if the vehicle was worked on as a wreck, Bomb Disposal, HM Dockyard, Devonport, would have to be notified for clearance purposes of any explosives on board. According to their letter, the Receiver of Wrecks would have to establish ownership of any landed materials from the tank and to decide potential liability to duty and/or Value Added Tax!

Justifiably Ken was somewhat upset at the barriers being laid in his path and he got back to Miss Nagata in Germany. Her answer was simple and to the point: 'I have said I will sell it to you on behalf of the Government of the United States and that is that'. This set the seal on the affair and the purchase was finally completed when the counter-signed agreement arrived in November 1974.

From that time on Ken had every intention of raising the DD but realised that such an operation would be long and costly. In the period between the purchase of the vehicle in 1974 and its recovery in 1984, Ken amassed a considerable collection of World War II and other artefacts from the beach, firmly believing that many of the gold rings he found

had come from those men lost on the Tiger operation. Also with the help of diver Derek Cockville and Tony Steer with his Dory he salvaged the twin propellers from the Sherman, one propeller being now displayed at Cove House, the other retained by Derek Cockville. However, by 1983 Ken Small stopped merely thinking thoughts of salvage and began to make tentative enquiries into organising a recovery crew. He had visions of carrying out the operation in a relatively quiet manner as a completely private project. To start the ball rolling Ken contacted the then Chairman of the South Hams District Council, Percy Moysey, and Secretary to the Council, Tim Price. A permanent resting place needed to be found if the recovery was to go ahead and on October 27 the Council said that they were prepared to assist in proposals to display the tank at Torcross and to negotiate with the owners of the two preferred sites to obtain legal authority for the tank to be displayed thereon. The first site was to be between the road and the beach but it was the second site at the southern end of Torcross car park, between the main road and Slapton Ley, which, after negotiations, was released by the Herbert Whitley Trust, Devon County Council, through Mr K. R. Turner acting for Gordon Houlder, FRICS, principal Land Agent at County Hall, Exeter, offered assistance with renovation and display work through the community programme.



For forty years the Sherman had sat beneath the waves in its own silent world, shared only with the creatures of the sea.



Local diver and underwater film-maker Laurie Emberson is filmed by his colleague Jeff Goodman.

In November 1983 Major A. R. Aylmer of Dolphin Diving Supplies at Dartmouth carried out a costing and feasibility study on the lifting of the Sherman and concluded that a lift of 40-tonnes via four 10-tonne lifting bags attached to the shipping lugs of the hull of the tank would be necessary to overcome the suction between the tank and the sea bed. Ken also made contact with the Ministry of Defence for Army assistance, and with Mr A. F. Munroe of Fertan Limited (preservation specialists) to carry out the treatment of the tank once beached.

By the early spring of 1984 the organisation of the recovery operation was gaining momentum and South West Commercial Divers contacted Ken and offered to bring the tank to the shoreline, while Richard Cummings generously offered the use of equipment from his plant hire company free of charge to bring the tank up the beach. Also at this time a magnificent offer of help came from Tony Gregory whose company, South West Recovery of Saltash, Cornwall, owned powerful winch vehicles. He told Ken that these vehicles could be put at his disposal at no charge if he found himself needing any extra 'muscle'.

Ken had already approached the American Embassy, thinking that they might wish to help or at least participate in the recovery of one of their former vehicles. When he received no reply Ken contacted them again but was informed that it was not the US Government's policy to finance an operation like this and that in any case there was no suitable lifting equipment in this country.

Ken Small also made contact again with the Ministry of Defence and within two days Captain David Cowley and Corporal Chris Rothwell of the 3rd Royal Tank Regiment were on site at Torcross to survey the situation and assess what recovery equipment would be required. Whilst this survey was under way, HM diving tender *Datchet* arrived off Slapton Sands to check the tank over for explosives. During the three days that the *Datchet* stood over the tank, Navy divers from the Bomb Disposal Unit at Devonport cleared out as much silt as was possible with a suction hose. Quite a number of irate conger eels were disturbed from their home but no explosives or human remains were found.

With the departure of the Royal Navy the attention moved back to the beach where Captain Cowley had decided that two Leyland Hippo recovery vehicles would be required to drag the Sherman up the shingle once it was beached. In the meantime Ken rang South West Commercial Divers to make sure they were still in a position to carry out the forthcoming lift. To his dismay he found that they were now no longer able to assist due to other work commitments but his dismay turned to elation when the Diving School at Fort Bovisand, Plymouth, stepped in and agreed to undertake the recovery as a training exercise.

Next on the scene were the Royal Marines from Lympstone Barracks, who gave their opinion on winching the Sherman up the beach. They recommended that a 60-tonne Chieftain ARV would be preferable to the Leylands although the release of such a vehicle for the task would necessitate special clearance. However within a couple of days Captain Cowley rang Ken to say that the special dispensation for the provision of a Chieftain could not be obtained and that the Army's part in the recovery was off. Ken rang the Ministry who told him that the Army had pulled out because the enquiry had not gone through the correct channels. He was also informed that even if the Army had agreed to assist, a charge of £5,000 to £6,000 would have been made if the exercise turned out to be 'not worthwhile'. Also if the Leylands had been used and had become bogged down, the provision of an ARV to move them would have increased costs alarmingly. (There was



When the Army backed out of providing any practical assistance Tony Gregory (second from left) came to the rescue with his Leyland Mastiffs. Both vehicles had been modified by Tony to accept army tank winches pulling up to 100 tons.

another near fly in the ointment on Thursday, May 10 when a statement appeared in the *Plymouth Evening Herald*, purported to have been made by Captain Pow, Chief-of-Staff to Flag Officer, Plymouth, and announced that: 'The tank cannot be brought up without the Navy's permission'. Fortunately this turned out to be a misquote and what Captain Pow had actually said was there was no way the Navy would raise the tank without his permission.)

Thus, with one day to go before the operation was to begin in earnest, Ken was without winching equipment but it was at this point, at the eleventh hour so to speak, that Tony Gregory and Westward Recovery came to the rescue with the generous provision of two of his vehicles.

Tuesday, May 15 saw the start of the recovery proper. The Fort Bovisand diving vessel *British Diver* moored alongside the white buoy which until that time had been the only pointer to the position of the sunken

Sherman. The trainee divers, fresh into their course at Bovisand, made contact for the first time with the job which was to give them all considerable headache and heartache over the following five days. During their twelve week, £6,000 course, the divers would have many excursions to the sea bed arranged for them, but they looked upon this job as something of a coup. They set to work with a will under the leadership of Bill Doughty, ex SBS, in charge overall of the diving side of things.

First task was to clear as much fish netting, ropes and debris as they were able from around the tank so that the task of attaching the lifting bags could begin. Conditions on the dive were fairly hazardous, with an average tide of 2½ to 3 knots and visibility never more than eighteen inches. The eight divers, Gerry Carrol (leading diver), Andy Lundie, Adrian Gillies, Chris Snape, Nigel Bishop, Ken Gillitt, Joe Muriel and Danny Walker, greatly assisted and spurred on by instructor Peter Barnadis, all wore dry suits during the



Fort Bovisand also stepped in at the last minute to carry out the actual lift using their trainee divers. Here Bill Doughty questions Gerry Carroll who has just come up from an exhausting dive. Adrian Gillies helps remove his suit while Danny Walker looks on. When faced with the challenge of the unusual recovery so early in their careers, what the boys may have lacked in experience was made up for by their determination not to be beaten when the chips were down.



operation. These give a layer of air between the diver's undergarment and the inside of the suit providing more insulation for longer periods to the cold outside as opposed to wet suits where water is trapped between suit and skin to be warmed by the diver's body.

The divers were on surface supply equipment which meant that they were constantly dependent on air from the *British Diver* above them. They wore Kirby Morgan Band Masks and were connected to the ship by their umbilical, made up of four lines consisting of the main air supply, telephonic communication, a life line attached to the diver's waist to take the main strain, and a tube for their Pneumo Gauge. This extremely accurate form of depth gauge is simple in its concept and more accurate than other forms of depth gauge. The tube on the inboard end is attached to the diver's panel on the ship which then feeds down to an open end attached across the diver's chest. Air is blown down the tube then shut off and the back pressure of the water up the tube is registered on the surface, and can be read in feet or metres on a dial gauge.

Each diver was covered two ways against failure in his air supply. If the main air feed failed on deck then air cylinders would be immediately connected to the diver's panel and fed into his system. If this supply failed the diver could revert to his emergency 'bail out' bottle attached to his back pack which contained a normal air mix and, as its name suggests, was there purely to give him air whilst regaining the surface.

It soon became apparent that one big problem confronting the divers was that of buoyancy because of the tide race, and it was found that extra weights had to be carried so that, including their equipment, the divers carried 24 kgs in all.

Wednesday, May 16, dawned overcast but with a flat calm and work began both on the beach and on the *British Diver* at 6.00 a.m. On the beach Cummings plant's 27-tonne CAT 977 Loader had already begun to move sand adjacent to the slipway to aid the towing of the tank from the water. In the car park across the road from the beach Tony Gregory was assembled and waiting with his crew,

Wednesday: Andie Lundie removes his Kirby Morgan Band Mask as Nigel Bishop prepares to descend the 65 feet to the tank on the bottom. The strength of the current with almost nil visibility made fixing the lifting shackles around the bogies by feel alone a laborious process.

Dave Parsons, Peter Jeffery and Graham Davis. They had two vehicles, both 6×6 Leyland Mastiffs with a 27-foot wheelbase, weighing 17 tonnes, equipped with army tank winches. One vehicle was capable of a 100-tonne pull at 440 feet using a one-inch diameter cable while the other vehicle carried the same equipment but, because it was higher geared, was capable of only an 80-tonne pull. The underfloor rear of each vehicle was filled with concrete ballast with a spade anchor fitted directly under the rear 'A' frame standing off behind the rear axle. The relative distances from the centre line of the rear axle

to the spade end and the centre line to the front axle gave the vehicle great stability when dealing with a heavy load.

By mid-morning a considerable crowd had gathered and Television South West were hopefully waiting on the beach. Staff from the Slapton Ley Field Centre, the wildlife sanctuary just behind the beach, made close observation of the *British Diver* possible from their fast Zodiac inflatable and Torcross fisherman, Chris Venmore, with his 28-foot crabber *Nikki V* made the first of many support trips to the salvage site.

On station over the tank the divers were



With Westward Recovery, Aqua Power, Fertan and Cummings Plant all standing by to play their relevant rôles, Wednesday and Thursday were frustrating days for the spectators. With little activity visible at sea, they had to wait until Saturday for the real action.



Thursday 7.20 p.m. — the 5-tonne lifting bag breaks free.



Thursday 9.50 p.m. — the Sherman leaves her watery grave.

now well into their routine. Work on the Sherman was proving very tiring and suitable anchorage points for the unwieldy deflated lifting bags were hard to find in the gloom, especially as the four main lifting points on the cast hull were found to be too badly corroded to be of any use. In spite of their additional weights, because of the current the divers were barely able to keep their footing on the bottom and most of the time were horizontal, holding on with one hand while working with their other hand, their bodies streaming out in the tide. This also meant, of course, that the process of getting to and from the tank was a lengthy one. When a diver was returning to the vessel bubbles would first be seen way astern, above where he had been carried back on releasing his hold on the tank. Each diver thus travelled far more than the 65 to 70 feet between surface and bottom.

Debriefing, to give the next diver as much information as possible as to progress on the sea bed, began as soon as the diver's face mask was removed but at times the incoming diver was so exhausted that he was barely able to stand, let alone answer Bill Doughty's pointed, detail-seeking questions.

As Wednesday ticked away on the beach, Ken Small faced a barrage of questions from eager reporters looking for news when there appeared to be nothing happening. Ken's confidence in Bill and the divers was extremely high and his answer was always the same: 'You come back later when it's on the beach, then you will have your story'.

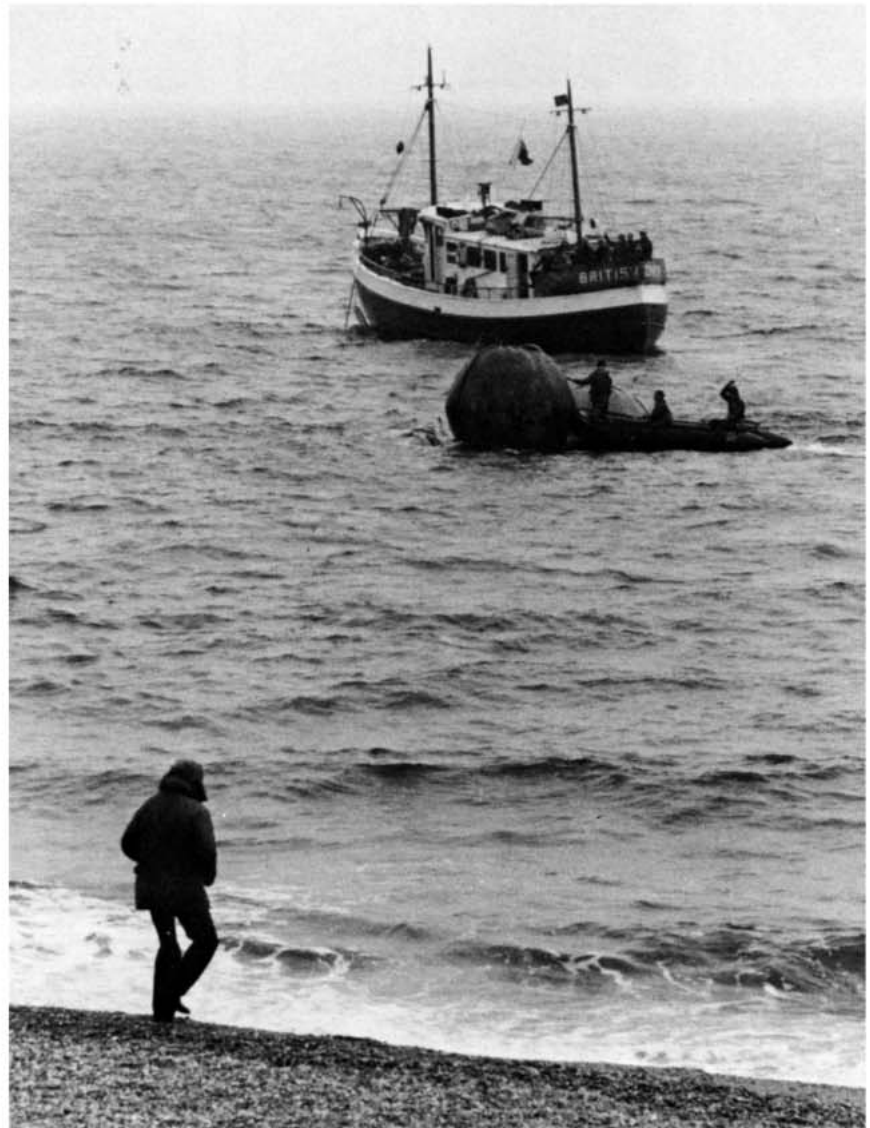
Three-quarters of a mile out to sea, Wednesday evening found *British Diver's* complement tired and somewhat dispirited with the slow progress they were making, and a lifting bag breaking free signalled the end of any attempt to raise that day. These lifting bags had been provided at no charge by J. W. Wise Automarine from Norfolk. The company has been, or are currently, involved among other things in the *Mary Rose* recovery, the raising of a Victorian steam yacht from Loch Rannoch, the lifting of a Gloster Meteor off Littlehampton, Sussex, and a Wellington bomber from 75 metres in Loch Ness. Each bag, valued at £1,650, was constructed of heavy-duty yellow PVC cloth, with open bottoms to allow air to bubble out as they rose and pressure decreased. To displace 10 tonnes of sea water at 65 feet the equivalent of three atmospheres had to be allowed for, meaning that each 10-tonne bag (weighing 92 kilos and being 16 feet 11 inches high and 10 feet diameter when inflated) would eventually contain 1,050 cubic feet of air.

Thursday was a much brighter day, with sea conditions good and only a slight swell, and Bill Doughty planned to lift the tank on the evening tide. Work continued to this end all day but because each diver was spending so much time on the bottom, as the day progressed so fewer divers were available. On repetitive diving, each man was permitted

down twice per day for up to 65 minutes per dive at up to 70-feet depth on the tide. On his second dive, account had to be taken of the pressure to which he had already been subjected and his decompression stops. Because of this, penalties had to be imposed giving each man possibly only 30 minutes down on subsequent dives.

By early evening all was ready for a lift. The low pressure compressor had been working

incessantly for what seemed like hours as the four 10-tonne and one 5-tonne lifting bags were slowly inflated. It was 7.20 p.m. when the first bag rose, considerable disturbance on the surface signalling its arrival. At first a mighty cheer went up from the diving vessel at the prospect of the tank rising but when a single bright yellow 5-tonne lifting bag came up out of the water having broken away the cheers died away and all on board were



Friday 8.00 a.m. Now just 150 yards off shore, grounded in 25 feet of water, Ken watches as the Zodiac nudges the load towards the beach on the rising tide.



With the Leyland backed across the road and firmly anchored against the bank, the cable was payed out down the beach to the still-submerged tank.

dismayed. With high tide not until 10.00 p.m. it was decided another attempt had to be made to beach the tank that night. A diver immediately entered the sea at the stern of the ship where the bag was drifting and the Zodiac inflatable, with Bill Doughty and two other divers aboard, was soon alongside. The process of retrieving the bag was a lengthy and laborious one. Tired and disillusioned as they were, and with the light fading fast, they eventually recovered the bag and divers immediately returned to the depths in order to attach it once more to the turret. About one hour later all was ready for another attempt and everyone on board the *British Diver* and the *Nikki V* waited anxiously as the familiar sound of the compressor drummed out over the evening scene. Suddenly, as air was slowly pumped down to the bags, a large ring of air bubbles appeared, the water boiled, and then the top of two 10-tonne bags appeared momentarily ... but then disappeared. Although physically shattered, two grimly determined divers straightway went over the side and into the dark water to assess the situation. What had in fact happened was that as the Sherman suddenly broke free of her 40-year-old grave the bags had risen too quickly, discharged too much air and thus sunk back below the surface. At that point the divers lost hold of the air line to the bags and a potentially dangerous situation developed as both men set off to search in different directions. They miraculously came together at the rear of the tank and, incredibly, there between them was the air line with the tank suspended 20ft to 30ft off the bottom. Pumping began again and at 9.50 p.m. the air bags broke surface, bobbed and remained in view.

Now the race was on to get the Sherman,

suspended from the five bags, as close in to the beach as was possible before the tide dropped away too far — but the problem was how to weigh anchor and move off without the fast-flowing ebb tide carrying *British Diver* back over the air bags and ropes at her stern. The answer to the problem came when Chris Venmore offered to attempt to pull the ship's bows around with the *Nikki V*. With the turbocharged 221 hp Volvo Penta churning the darkening waters white at her stern, she slowly edged *British Diver* to port and towards the beach. The three quarter mile tow in began at 10.15 p.m.

As an aiming point was required ashore to mark the slipway from the beach, the *Nikki V* cast off from the ship and headed for land so that Captain Cowley could switch on his car headlights to act as a beacon. Slowly but surely the diving vessel approached the shore, sometimes almost broadside to the beach as the current tried to sweep her and her prize away across Start Bay. The *Nikki V* repeatedly ran between ship and shore with her spotlights on to give Peter Barnardis, skipper of the *British Diver*, a better indication of the ever diminishing distance between himself and the beach where thousands of sightseers had been drawn to the scene by hourly bulletins on the great recovery on local radio. In fact to keep the people informed on the progress out at sea where little could be seen to be happening above water, a public address system had been set up the previous evening by the local Council to give a blow by blow account. This certainly helped counter the rumours of the '£1m' cost of the operation and took the wind out of the sails of the odd Job's comforters in the crowd who depressingly stated to those who would listen that either the wrong

equipment was being employed, or that this should be done, or that, or the whole method being used would never work.

Finally at about 11.10 p.m. the DDs tracks grounded some 150 yards off the beach at a depth of approximately 25 feet. *British Diver* cast off and *Nikki V* headed off towards her anchorage at Dartmouth. As the clock struck midnight the few stalwarts still on the beach headed for home, while at Cove House, Ken Small just sat nervously exhausted at the suspense and marvelled at it all.

The morning of Friday brought choppy conditions offshore as the diving vessel's Zodiac nudged the suspended tank ever closer towards the beach as the tide rose. On shore the South Hams Council in the form of surveyor Mr A. J. Smirk was in attendance complete with Tank Site Arrangement Drawing No. 53/21-1. The DAF low-loader from Cummings Plant Hire arrived with their 13-tonne Poclain 60 excavator and soon Tom Tucker was removing the first bucketfull of earth to make ready the display site.

Tony Gregory, who had gallantly stood by with his winches since Tuesday morning, made ready his 100-tonne pull Leyland, backed it up to the bank in the car park on the Ley side of the road and dug his spade in. The 27-tonne Caterpillar 977 Loader was reversed down the beach and a heavy pulley block connected to its rear end. When at 2.40 p.m. the Sherman grounded again, now only fifty yards off the beach, the winch cable was payed out around the pulley arrangement on the 'CAT' and carried out to the still-submerged Sherman on the Zodiac. Meanwhile the ever-patient local constabulary restrained the enthusiastic crowds emphasising that they did not want to have to collect heads if the cable parted!

Winching commenced and the yellow lifting bags began moving again towards the beach. Unfortunately the cable then broke away from the front of the tank causing considerable delay whilst a firmer anchorage point was found. As the afternoon wore on anchoring the 'CAT' on the loose shingle became more and more difficult until eventually at 7.00 p.m., instead of the Sherman coming in, the 'CAT' was being dragged slowly down the beach digging in at its rear end and lifting its nose alarmingly, giving driver Kim Tucker some anxious moments. However by bringing the Poclain onto the beach and chaining it to the front of the 'CAT' the problem was solved and the Sherman started to move towards the beach again.

A few yards off the beach at this point lies a ten-foot high bank of submerged shingle and when the Sherman came up against this obstacle the heavy chain linking the two tracked anchor vehicles parted. At this stage it was estimated that the loading on the winch had reached 400 tons!

Laurie Emberson (experienced local diver and underwater film maker) had been filming



Cummings 27-tonne Caterpillar, which had been brought up to bulldoze a pathway through the shingle and the earth bank

surrounding the car park, was used as an anchor mid-way down the beach for a pulley arrangement to increase the pull.







With both vehicles slowly lifting off the ground, there were some anxious moments as the pull reached an estimated 400 tonnes.

the tank during the final stages of its under-water life and at 7.45 p.m. he appeared on the vehicle's superstructure as the rear upper part of the turret broke the surface. By 8.15 p.m. the turret, rear decking and 75mm gun were all clear of the water and Ken Small clambered onto the turret and attempted to 'launch' it with a bottle of champagne. French glass proved stronger than American metal and the champers merely bounced off into the sea. On the next attempt Ken made sure it broke!

At 8.40 p.m. when winching ceased the barnacle-encrusted hull and running gear were visible and preparations were made by Steve Bielby of Plymouth Clearance Diving Team Bomb Disposal group at HMS Drake to check the vehicle over for any ammunition that might have been aboard. When all that was found was a very large dead conger eel, the all clear was given for the first step of the preservative treatment to begin, it being essential to decontaminate the metal of salt water to prevent rust forming. Aqua Power of Ugborough near Plymouth were assigned the task of cleaning the tank inside and out by Fertan Limited who were to apply their own 'Fertonising' preservative system. Len Watts, Alan Davis and Bernie Parsons of Aqua Power worked through that Friday night with their 5/6000 psi, 9-10 gall/min high pressure water guns taking the 40-year-old hull back to bare



The moment for which everyone was waiting — the turret top breaks surface. Laurie Emberson had been filming its last moments underwater.



The moment for which he had been waiting — Ken Small cock-a-hoop launches the DD with a bottle of bubbly.



Just before midnight, Len Watts of Aqua Power began the filthy job of sucking out nine tons of silt and water-blasting the



exterior. The water jet is so powerful that it stripped the encrusted marine growth right down to bare metal.

metal with ease. During that period a live conger eel of considerable proportions appeared head first from under the engine decking and wriggled out onto the beach. With care and caution he was returned to the sea to search for a new home.

Saturday morning found Aqua Power still hard at work at the water's edge, having cleaned much of the outside of the tank and pumped out a considerable pile of silt from inside. Cleaning then ceased so that the winching could be restarted but at 10.45 a.m. the cable again broke away from the tank. By midday Westward Recovery had resecured the cable and were pulling again, but work stopped at 12.30 p.m. to allow Fertan to spray the first coat of preservative inside and out. After lunch winching continued and by 3.15 p.m. the DD finally reached the top of the beach — some forty years too late! Once the Sherman reached firm concrete something quite remarkable occurred. At 4.20 p.m., with a considerable creaking and breaking up



Below: The morning after the night before. Transformed ready for the Fertan process.





Captain David Cowley, 3rd Royal Tank Regiment, marks out the final resting place for the DD on land made available by the



Herbert Whitley Trust alongside the Torcross car park and fronting Slapton Ley — the freshwater wildlife sanctuary.



Another special moment came on Saturday afternoon as the Sherman reached firm ground. All of a sudden the complete

running gear came alive and she rolled across the road with ease. In the background the beach she failed to reach in 1944.



Once in the car park the cleaning and Fertanising process continued over the next week. Alan Briggs sprayed the first coating.





The Slapton Sherman DD is a late model M4A1 with a cast hull and the 75mm gun in an M34A1 mount. The commander had a rotating ring hatch. There is no appliqué armour on this

example and the rear drive sprockets for the tracks were missing when recovered as were the twin propellers removed by Ken Small some years before.

of encrusted barnacles, the entire running gear came to life and ran as freely as the day that it boarded the LCT. Grease could be seen oozing from various nipples and the vertical volute spring suspension worked a treat as the tank came over the crest of the slipway.

By 7.20 p.m. she had made it across the road and had been brought alongside the area being prepared for her. Once again the operation had attracted an unbelievably large crowd, and with the road closed to traffic, the car park jam-packed with vehicles, the Sherman was certainly the centre of attraction in Devon that day.

The following week saw work continuing on the display area and Aqua Power continuing the cleaning operation. Altogether around nine tons of silt were removed from the in-

terior and among the items recovered were an aluminium water bottle, maintenance manual, radio fascia and two-way radio switch, brass torch, lifebelt, grease gun, various telescopic sights and periscopes, gun-laying equipment and track clamps. A special search was made beneath the silt for the works number plate (which on a Sherman is located beside the driver's seat) and fortunately although badly corroded the plate was still in place. After cleaning the number was still legible: 87830.

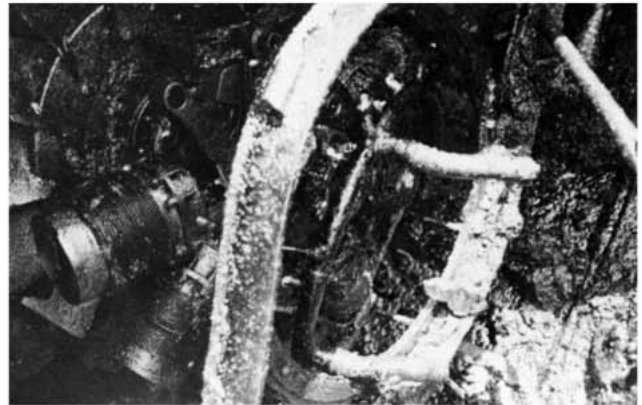
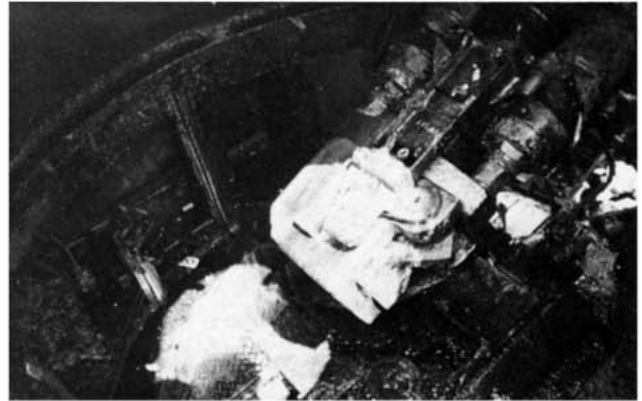
On Sunday, May 27, Alex Briggs of Fertan coated the tank with his company's unique black preservative which converts living rust into a totally inert substance. Apart from various tanks at Bovington tank museum, other contracts upon which Fertan have been

employed include the *Holland I*, the first Royal Naval submarine which sank off the Eddystone Light on its way to the breakers yard in 1917 now on show at Gosport, and the Jodrell Bank radio telescope.

The evening of Thursday, May 31, saw the Sherman story brought to a close. Using a new Fiat Allis FL14D, Jim Perrot, Cummings chief engineer, began towing the DD onto the prepared ground. Although the tank moved easily, the 5/8-inch diameter link chain snapped and Jim finally resorted to pushing the Sherman onto her final resting place. Slowly the 32-ton veteran was eased up over the bank and back onto timber blocks to hold her in position while steel bars were welded between the drive sprockets and track to lock the running gear.



She was towed and pushed into her display position on the evening of May 31 in time for the 40th anniversary of D-Day.



Originally the interior was filled nearly up to the top of the turret with silt. Some had been removed by Navy divers from Datchet while the tank was still under water and any artifacts thereby lost. *Above:* When Aqua Power cleared out the last of the sludge in the car park a lifebelt, grease gun, water bottle, periscope and brass torch came to light. *Above right:* The breach of the gun had been preserved under the silt. *Right:* Detail from the Continental R975C1 Whirlwind 9-cylinder radial engine built by the Wright Corporation.

Like all good recovery stories, things had not run smoothly — indeed it would probably remove a lot of the meaning behind such operations if it did. In the case of the Slapton Sherman man had fought nature to recover what was rightfully his and won. Sunk in a second in 1944 it had taken ten years of hopes

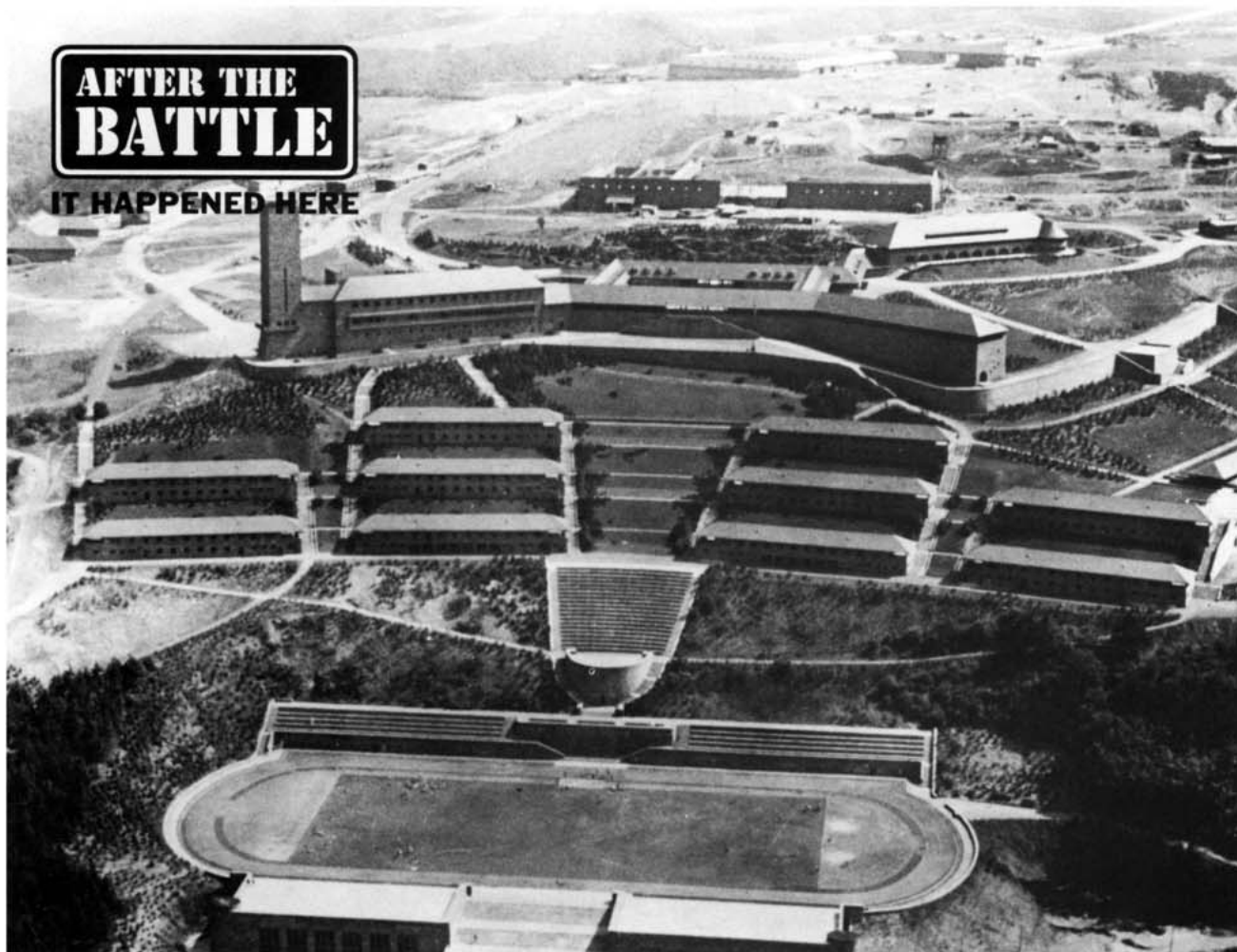
and dreams and almost a week of constant effort to retrieve the DD in 1984. Now, thanks to Ken Small and all those who helped him, a fitting memorial has been provided to all those who lost their lives forty years ago, its muzzle pointing out over Start Bay to where they died . . . their only grave the sea.

Forty years later — June 6, 1984: after all the hard work the divers have their own moment of glory. L-R front of turret: Gerry Carroll, Joe Muriel and Nigel Bishop. Rear: Ken Gillitt, Adrian Gillies, Andy Lundie, Chris Snape and Danny Walker.



The Sherman DD in which five men from Company A, 70th Tank Battalion, would have landed on Utah Beach on D-Day. They were Sergeant Edmund F. Lavish; Sergeant Clarence D. Ashberger, who was killed in Normandy on July 29 1944;

Corporal William L. Gregg who died recently; Private Pat Bickman and another unidentified crewman. Thomas Hyde ex-Company A who we contacted in Stanwood, Iowa, told us that 25 men from his unit lost their lives on Utah.



**AFTER THE
BATTLE**
IT HAPPENED HERE

ORDENSBURG VOGELSANG

Krossinsee, Sonthofen and Vogelsang were the locations where Hitler built training schools to ideologically educate his party officials to the higher service of Gauleiter and Reichsleiter. To quote a speech which the Führer made at one of them: 'These schools

here have the task of training for this organisation that type of political leader which we term a political soldier. Then I believe, these schools will become real strongholds of this German order, of — and we can say this with pride — the first German Order, which

BY MELVYN BAKER

has only one aim, to preserve and protect German people and German territory, and to strengthen them in the struggle on this earth.



This monument to Nazi 'superstars' stands in the centre of the wall backing the sports field in the aerial photograph of the 'School for Führers' taken looking south shortly after its completion in 1936. *Left:* Radio correspondent Robert Barr

revisited the scene of one of his wartime despatches in 1959 (see *After the Battle* No. 25). *Right:* RAF Chief Technician Melvyn Baker, stationed at Rheindahlen, in a perfect comparison during his visit to the area in November 1983.

An order which never obeys foreigners, is subordinate to no foreign power, which is obliged exclusively to one single entity. An order which for the first time derives its aims and its orders from the depths of the German being and German heart, but also from reason, and which therefore for the first time in Germany's history is a guarantee of the existence of the German people and of no other idea.'

The schools were to offer young party members who aspired to a career in the party administration a three-year training course. Those participating in these courses were to switch colleges every year. In Krossinsee, the aspirants were to be educated with a view to character; Vogelsang was to extend the racist philosophy of the new order, while Sonthofen would train the 'students' in administration, political, diplomatic or Army tasks. Physical training and toughening-up were not forgotten and Krossinsee later became famous as a riding centre. At Vogelsang, general types of sport were practised, while mountaineers were trained at Sonthofen. Although Hitler would certainly not have liked to admit it, the schools were supposed to have been modelled on the British public school!

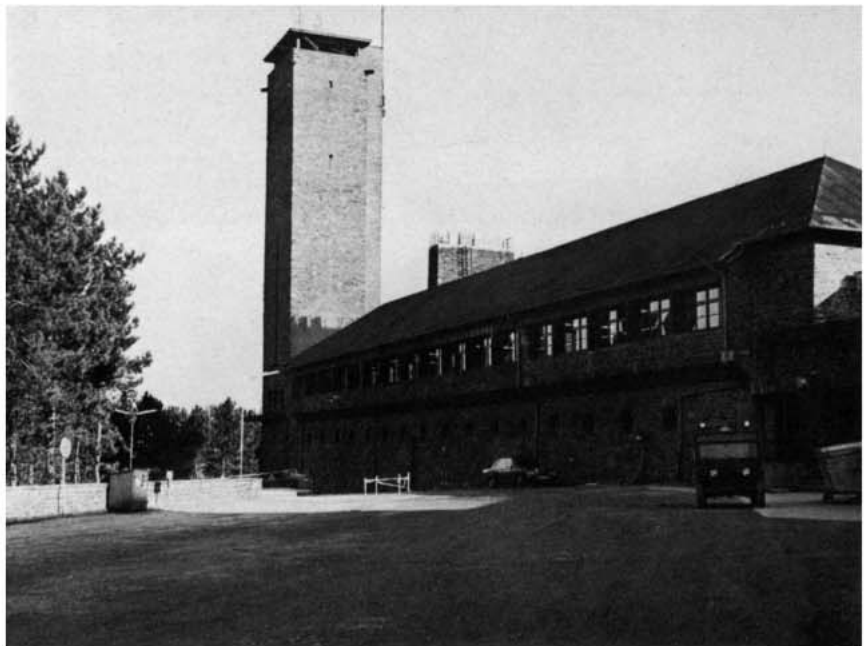
The second year after Hitler assumed power he instructed his head of organisational matters, Dr Robert Ley — official title Reichsorganisationsleiter of the NSDAP (Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei) — to construct Vogelsang. The architect, Clemens Klotz, was commissioned with the design as each was to be built entirely from scratch. 'Where they stand nothing stood previously' wrote Ley. 'I did not want to convert old castles and strongholds for I am convinced that one cannot preach and learn this powerful new philosophy of Adolf Hitler in old, decayed and dusty buildings. The environment in which these ideas are made known to man must be as new as these world shattering concepts.'

Three castles were built. The first construction began in February 1934 near Falkenburg in the Pomeranian lake district on the Krossinsee (Die Falkenburg am Krossinsee). In March Vogelsang came into being on a northern slope of the Eifel above the Urft Dam near the Belgian border, and the third project was begun in May that year on the Kalvarienberg in Sonthofen in the Allgau. A fourth castle which had already been planned, the Marienburg in east Prussia, was never built.

The foundation ceremony was performed at Vogelsang on September 22, 1934 by Dr Ley and the most important buildings which were required for training purposes were constructed in the record time of two years. The total construction period for Vogelsang had at the time already been estimated as at least ten years, with a total building cost of 250 million marks. Three quarries in the Eifel were acquired for construction materials, which had to be transported up the mountain using



The first commandant of Ordensburg Vogelsang Hauptamtleiter Manderbach (centre left), prepares to address the parade drawn up in the shadow of the water tower. The top floor of the main building burned down after the war and was not rebuilt.



Hermann Göring with Dr Robert Ley on his left and Manderbach on his right. Today Vogelsang is a NATO training establishment.



The Führer, flanked by Ley and Manderbach, crosses the foyer courtyard. Also identifiable are Rudolf Hess and 'Sepp' Dietrich.

ox carts. Up to 1,500 workers, all from private firms, were employed at one time on the site.

On April 24, 1936 (to mark the occasion of Hitler's birthday on April 20) all three castles of the order were formally opened by the Führer at Krossinsee. The parchment with the speech made on that occasion was sealed into the foundation stone. One week after Hitler's official speech to open Vogelsang (on May 1, 1936), the first 500 'Junkers' moved in and began their course five days later.

The pupils or students at the castles belonging to the order had the official title of 'Junker', traditionally used to describe a titled nobleman, although entrants came from all classes in the German population. Applicants for any of the courses at the castles belonging to the order had to meet the following conditions:

1. Perfect physical health.
2. To exhibit absolutely no disability (people wearing glasses were not allowed to apply).
3. To be racially pure.
4. Character and mental disposition had to be outstanding.
5. Free from hereditary tendencies.
6. A minimum height of 160cm (5ft 3in) without shoes was stipulated.
7. Age 23-26 years old

Married and engaged applicants could also apply to be registered, the subsistence of the family being assured for the duration of the course. In addition to her rent, the wife also received a monthly supplement of RM80 plus a supplement of RM25 for each child.

The permanent teaching staff belonging to the order totalled 250 the first year, rising to 450 instructors the second year, divided up between the three castles. The Commandant of Vogelsang from 1936-39 was Hauptamtleiter Manderbach. He was an old First World War soldier, one of the earliest party

members and a personal friend of Rudolf Hess. In 1939 he got into trouble for having his daughter baptised according to Protestant rites. Later he fought in Norway and Russia. His staff comprised an adjutant, Parteigenosse (Party Member) Steudel; Squad Leaders, each in charge of 360 men; 'Group of 100 Leaders', as the title suggests 'centurions' controlling 100-200 men; Class Leaders, 40-50 men; and Team Leaders for every 13-18 men. In addition there was a sports master or company commander. Then there were the principal teachers, reinforced by guest lecturers who rotated between the various castles. The Guard of Honour was provided by the local SS when necessary.

The working day at Vogelsang began at 6.00 a.m. with a morning call by loudspeaker in the dormitories. After washing and dressing, the dormitories and living accommodation were tidied up. Early morning sport followed, conducted by the individual 'Classes of Comrades'. Thereafter came a communal breakfast in the large dining hall in the main building. At 7.45 a.m. the ceremonial flag parade marking the beginning of the day was held. From 8.00 a.m. to 9.00 a.m. came the assembly of the 'Classes of Comrades' in preparation for the lecture which began at 10.00 a.m. in the main auditorium of the main building, lasting until midday. At 12.15 p.m. all the Junkers assembled on the parade ground, at which post was distributed and afternoon sports duties were made known. Lunch was from 1.00 p.m. to 2.00 p.m. followed by sports extending over all kinds of activities, e.g. boxing, fencing, swimming, riding, football and light athletics. In addition there was elementary and field training, field sports, gas defence and shooting.

Thereafter Junkers worked independently and methodically in working groups. The themes posed were taken from the practical

work as encountered by party leaders. After a communal evening meal in the dining hall, each student was free to arrange his evening as he wished: at the central library, bowling alley, the billiard table, chess board, libraries, to respond to invitations from other individual 'Classes of Comrades', orchestral clubs, or choirs, etc. Normally each Junker could leave the castle in the evening providing he was back by lights out at 10.00 p.m.

Hitler made three visits to Vogelsang: on November 20, 1936; April 29, 1937 and December 15, 1938. Apart from Dr Ley and Baldur von Schirach, the German Youth Leader, other visitors included the Reich Press Chief Dr Otto Dietrich (September 10, 1936); Rudolf Hess (September 18, 1936); Reich War Minister Generalfeldmarschall Werner von Blomberg (September 17, 1936 and April 28, 1937); Reichsleiter and Oberster Richter der Partei (Senior Party Judge) Walter Busch (August 28, 1937).

On September 18, 1938 Vogelsang came under the command of Otto Gohdes, commandant of Krossinsee. In September 1939 the Junkers were temporarily sent to their home areas.

From 1941-1944 three Adolf Hitler schools — from Franken, Moselland and Westmark — were located at Vogelsang, with a total of 250 pupils aged between 8 and 18. In 1942 the female staff quarters was converted into a home for expectant mothers, the latter being evacuees from the nearby Eifel area and the Rheinland. Herman Göring had been a frequent visitor to Vogelsang over the years and in 1944 it was used by the Luftwaffe in their support of the Ardennes offensive, at which time it also served as a military hospital.

On December 16, 1944 the area was attacked by the Royal Air Force, the main target being the Urft Dam, a few thousand yards to the north-west, and during the raid the



An army marches on its stomach — then and now. The dining room little changed except for the whitewashed beams.

auditorium of the main building, the right wing of the Adlerhof (the commandant's quarters) and two other buildings were completely destroyed, others being slightly damaged.

The castle was captured virtually without a fight by the 1st Battalion, 47th Infantry Regiment of the 9th US Division on February 4, 1945 during the advance to capture the Rur river dams. The Americans used the complex as a headquarters for a few days before continuing the advance westwards. Thereafter Vogelsang was left unoccupied and during this period all movable property was plundered by the local populace.

With the determination of the Allied zones of occupation, the castle was taken over by the British in June 1946 and the Army decided to turn Vogelsang into an armoured training area, availing themselves the right of extending the boundary to include some 6,304 hectares (24 square miles) of surrounding countryside. As this area included the village of Wollseifen, a mile to the west, notice was given to the inhabitants on August 11 that they were to leave their homes by the end of the month. During the next four years, the bomb-damaged and pillaged buildings were rebuilt and repaired and nine firing ranges and exercise areas built for infantry training.

On April 1, 1950 the camp was turned over to Belgian management and from then on Vogelsang became the training ground of the 1st Belgian Corps in Germany. They inherited the prohibited area of live ranges (4,500 hectares) and 1,800 hectares south of Dreiborn and west of Schleiden where training was only permitted on roads and land not planted. Although the training area was bisected by the B266 road, by making use of several small valleys with steeply sloping sides the number of firing ranges was increased to twenty in 1952.

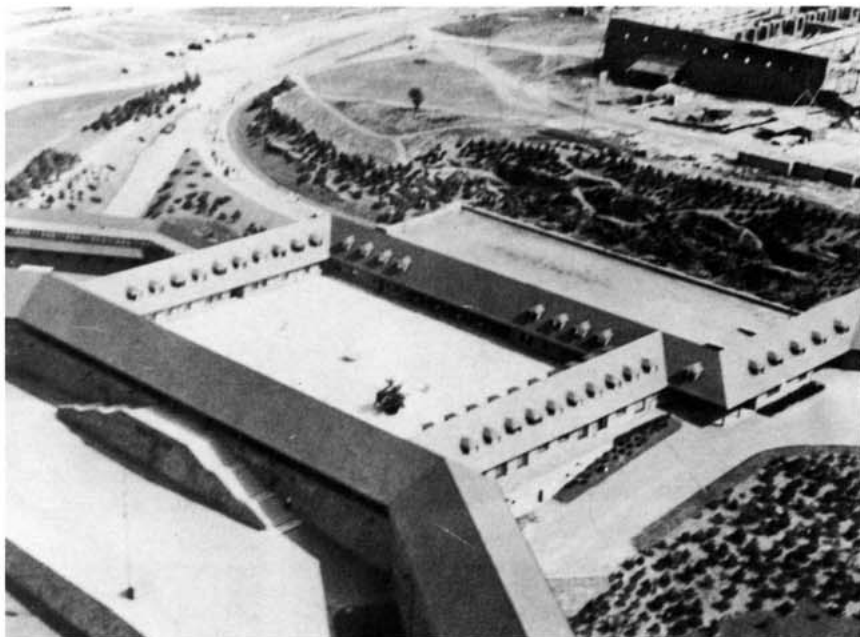
The first Belgian unit to use the new facilities was the 4th Brigade during July 1-15, 1950. Barrack blocks were christened with suitable Belgian sounding names: La Lys, L'Yser, L'Escaut and Rupel, and by repairing the Saint Georges building and constructing a new block, the Van Dooren building, comfortable accommodation was provided for 3,000 at any one time. In 1954 some 64,000 Belgian soldiers passed through the camp.

With the formal end to the occupation of Germany on May 5, 1955, it was seen that the feelings of the local population could no longer be lightly brushed aside. A first step at building bridges was taken in August with the transfer of graves from Wollseifen cemetery to Herhahn and the various commandants began to adopt a readiness to discuss grievances with the local authorities.

Nevertheless Vogelsang was a valuable training site and there was no thought of giving this up. From 1950 to 1955 only Belgian troops used the facilities but with the formation of NATO and NORTHAG (Germany, Britain, United States, Netherlands, Canada and Luxembourg), tenure has since rotated with each country taking it in turn to train there for two-week periods, while administrative control remains in Belgian hands. The camp is now open for forty-seven weeks out of every year, during which time up to 40,000 NATO troops are accommodated.

Relations with German civilians have steadily improved over the years, helped by active social work by the camp, the support of the local handicapped and elderly, and the holding of regular open days. (The next being on September 2, 1984.) In 1975 a bypass road was constructed around the village of Dreiborn to keep heavy vehicles from using the main street. By 1980 the number of ranges had been increased to thirty-nine enabling infantry to train alongside the armour in joint tactical exercises.

I visited Vogelsang from my usual base at Rheindahlen on November 10, 1983. Permission had been obtained in advance from



A remarkable pair of photographs. The Germans took that *above* from a low-flying aircraft during the construction of the school and the Americans the one *below* after the capture of the complex by the 9th Infantry Division. Although the angle is different the same stepped ramp with the eagle created in stone sets is visible in both shots. It still remains (*bottom*).





quarters for the seventy female employees, today known as Redoute.

Continuing in a southern direction, to the left of the guards' gate stood the indoor riding arena and the stables. The riding school was the inner yard and now houses the vehicle repair workshops. Behind the guards' gate on the left-hand side was the hospital equipped with forty beds, the guest house and operating theatre (the present day military hospital). To the right of the gateway were other quarters for employees, today used by the military police.

On the way to the main road, the B266, a riding arena, tennis courts and shooting ranges were built. Finally beside the main road itself there were garages, sheds, a driving school and a small airfield.

Had Vogelsang been completed as planned, a giant hotel with 2,000 bedrooms and enormous public rooms was to have been added in the immediate vicinity. Similar hotel projects were planned for Krossinsee and Sonthofen.

At the outset a master race which was to rule over Europe was to be trained at this castle. It is ironic therefore that Hitler's cadet school has now become a training ground for the soldiers of the Western democracies whose job it is to ensure that just such a tyranny shall never again be imposed.

The original foundation stone laid by Dr Ley, now preserved with other artefacts in the garrison museum.

The military men of three nations portray the three phases in the history of Vogelsang . . . and on the same spot! Above left: German tenure — a flurry of activity during a visit from the Reichsmarschall. Above right: American tenure. A machine-gunner from the 47th Infantry Regiment fires out across the Urfttalsperre. Below: A Belgian soldier looks out on the same view in 1983.



**AFTER THE
BATTLE**
PRESERVATION



SURVEYING THE ARIZONA

BY JOHN MARTINI

The records are very specific. On December 7, 1941 USS *Arizona* (BB-39) was loaded with nearly full provisions for immediate sortie: 1.5 million gallons of fuel oil, 616 rounds of 14-inch ammunition, 1,232 bags of smokeless powder, and approximately one million rounds of 5-inch, .50 calibre anti-aircraft, and assorted small arms ammunition. Her complement of 1,446 sailors and Marines was nearly all aboard. The night before completion the battleship's band had competed in a fleet-wide 'battle of the bands' and taken second place: they had won the right to sleep late on that fateful Sunday morning.

The *Arizona* was twenty-five years old and, as the flagship for Battleship Division One, she was considered to be a 'spit and polish' vessel. Aboard her that morning were her captain, William Van Valkenberg, and Rear Admiral Isaac C. Kidd. In her brig was a sailor from the escorting destroyer squadron, awaiting a hearing for some infraction of naval regulations. The crew was assembling for church services or awaiting transportation to shore to catch the trolley that would get them to Waikiki Beach. It was a routine Sunday morning, except that a quarter of all

gun crews had to remain on stand-by for possible enemy action. There had been a War Warning issued two weeks earlier although nothing had ever come of it.

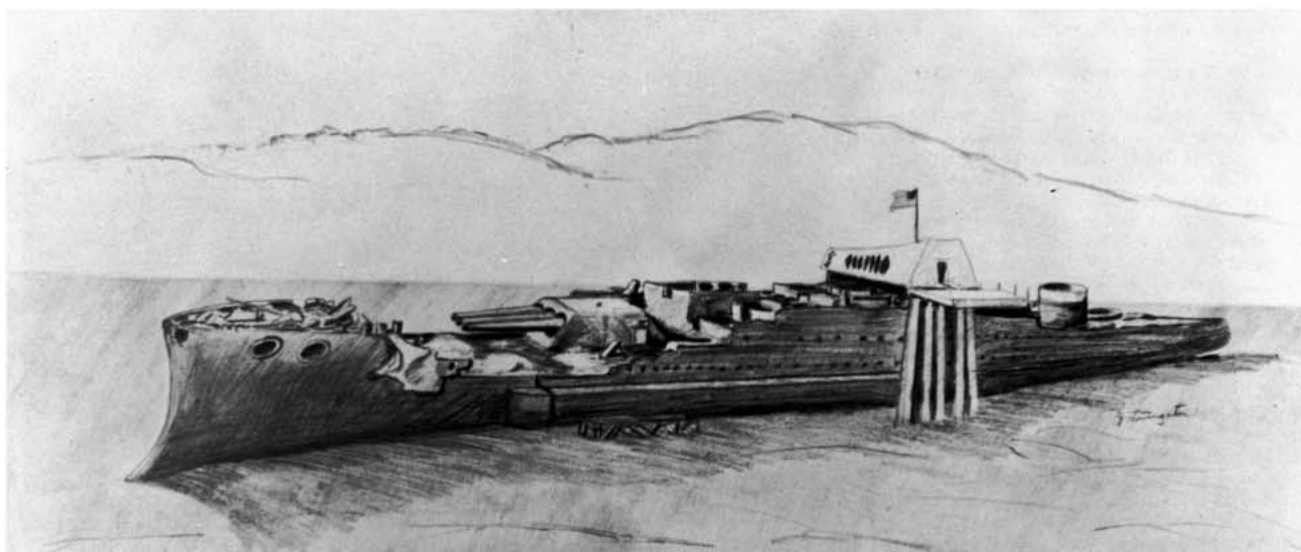
At precisely 7.55 a.m. the first Japanese attacking planes appeared over Pearl Harbor, and seamen on deck figured they were either returning scout planes or Army aircraft staging a mock air raid (see *After the Battle* No. 38). The first real clue that all was not in order was a series of explosions coming from the nearby Naval Air Station on Ford Island. At 7.57 a.m. the first torpedo planes began their attack runs on Battleship Row.

There were not many surviving reports from *Arizona* that described the next thirteen minutes of action. At almost exactly 8.10 a.m. an armour-piercing bomb landed on her main deck near the forward gun turrets. It penetrated five decks and set off a fire below

decks that quickly reached the forward powder magazines. The records, again, were specific; nearly 1,800,000 pounds of ammunition was stored there, and it detonated with the force of almost one kiloton. The force of the explosion was enough to peel back the main deck from bow to bridge, and soon pieces of the *Arizona* were raining all over the harbour. As her fuel oil bubbled to the surface and met the superheated air and flame, it ignited and burned furiously. The battleship went to the bottom in an upright position, and in less than nine minutes the Flagship of Battleship Division One was reduced to 32,000 tons of scrap metal. Of her crew, 1,177 died and went down with her.

It took two days for the fire to burn itself

The first survey to accurately chart the damage and present condition of the *Arizona* (above), sunk in Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, began in September 1983. This picture was taken in 1940 before the 'birdbath' machine gun position was added to her mainmast a few weeks before the Japanese attack. Below: The *Arizona* today — a sketch made as a result of the examination of the wreck showing also the way the memorial building straddles the ship. (Jerry Livingston)



out, and the hull was so hot that salvage workers could not set foot on her until December 10. The grim task of identifying casualties and surveying the damage began at once, and the true magnitude of the destruction was apparent within a few days. The *Arizona* had not merely sunk, like so many other ships at Pearl Harbor, but rather she had ripped herself apart for much of her 608-foot length. From her bow to her mainmast she had been either reduced to twisted steel plating or collapsed as if some gigantic boot had crushed the hull. The salvage divers had not even been able to penetrate the below decks area forward of the crews' galley, so blocked were the passageways. The reports that the divers brought up clearly described a mass of wreckage that could not realistically be considered a warship any longer.

Salvage work and body recoveries did take place in the stern area, however, where damage had been comparatively light. Unexploded ammunition, machinery, personal property, the ship's payroll, and 105 of her dead were brought to the surface. In mid-1942, however, Admiral Chester Nimitz ordered that all work below the waterline be stopped; the salvage personnel were needed elsewhere on more critical projects. All that would continue was the final removal of all superstructure portions above the waters of Pearl Harbor.

In those anxiety-ridden days following the destruction of the fleet, it is little wonder that almost no formal documentation was made on the appearance and conditions of the sunken battleship. The salvage divers involved in the first surveys were sent down to determine the feasibility of refloating the ship, not to prepare detailed damage reports. No drawings or photos were ever made, and from 1942 onwards, *Arizona* was left to her watery resting place and her crew to their collapsed compartments. Simply stated, there were many things more important than a dead ship and her dead crew.

A unique interest developed concerning the *Arizona*, and even during World War II she began to be regarded as an unofficial memorial to the 'Day of Infamy'. Even though she had been stricken from the records of active ships in 1942, passing warships would muster their crews to the railings and have them render honours to *Arizona*, as they would to any ship of the fleet. In 1950 the symbolic gesture was made official when the battleship was placed in 'symbolic commission' and again allowed to fly the National Ensign as would any other active ship. A small wooden platform was constructed on her exposed deckhouse, and a surplus flagpole tacked onto the stump of her mainmast. Visitors were soon allowed to visit the USS *Arizona* 'memorial', and the numbers swelled as visitation to Hawaii increased through the 1950s.

By 1962 it was apparent that a more permanent and proper structure was necessary, and the striking white concrete USS *Arizona* Memorial was constructed and dedicated to both the men of the *Arizona* and the casualties of all the Armed Forces resulting from the Pearl Harbor attack.

By 1980 the Navy had become overwhelmed with a still-growing visitation to the Memorial, and asked the National Park Service to take over all aspects of operating both the Memorial itself and also a new multi-million dollar visitor centre and museum complex. Over a million people annually were coming to the site of the attack and the remains of the battleship, but surprising little was known about the ship itself or the effects of more than forty years' immersion in salt water.

The National Park Service (on whose staff I am employed as a Ranger) presents formal interpretive talks to all the visitors to the *Arizona* Memorial, and in the attempt to tell the complete story of both the attack and the



At first sight the battleship now appears more like a coral reef than a warship.

aftermath, we have done extensive research and carried out interviews with survivors of the attack. However one thing was quickly apparent: little if any formal documentation had been done on the battleship after she sunk. Records were uncovered that described the first salvage surveys, and we found interviews with some of the divers themselves, but no drawings or formal reports on the exact positioning and remaining portions came to light.

Another concern was very pressing. In the space of three years, substantial decay of the visible decking had occurred, and three exposed ventilators had simply collapsed from corrosion. In order to learn more about the present condition of the ship, and to finally document her appearance, it was decided to carry out a formal underwater archaeological survey. Since it would take many years for Government funding to become available, the *Arizona* Memorial Museum Association donated \$10,000 for the first stages of a long-term survey to begin in the late summer of 1983.

The survey was to have four major goals, all aimed at furthering knowledge of the ship herself and to chart deterioration of the hull. First, a complete map would be drawn of the

ship to identify her true position, document remaining portions, and identify all damaged areas, hopefully noting which areas were battle damage and which were from subsequent salvage efforts. Secondly, permanent reference points would be set in the hull itself. From these, repeated measurements could be taken to document any settling or shifting of the ship. It appears that the battleship has settled about a foot since the present Memorial was built twenty years ago, and any settlement or shifting could be disastrous for both the hull and the Memorial proper. The third goal was to examine two concrete landings that had been poured onto the deck of the sunken ship sometime in the 1950s. We were concerned that their many tons of weight were damaging the fabric of the ship, and we wanted to know what they were doing and could they be safely removed. The last goal was to answer a historic question that had arisen several times: had the *Arizona* been hit by a torpedo prior to the bomb that detonated the magazines? Several surviving witnesses to her sinking reported at least one torpedo had hit near the bow, but no reports of such damage had come to light in the scanty records from the first salvage surveyors.

A combined effort to carry out this recent



Here a National Parks Service diver examines a section of teakwood deck exposed near the bow.



survey was co-ordinated between the National Park Service and the US Navy. Permission was necessary from the Navy itself since the ship is still their property. Also, various veterans' groups were polled for their reactions to the project as the battleship is considered to be an unofficial National Cemetery, containing the unrecovered remains of more than 1,000 men. Finally, all diving operations had to be co-ordinated with harbour activities of the Naval Base, since underwater equipment was frequently tested which could severely injure any unsuspecting diver in the water. (At the very least, we were assured, such equipment could render us incapable of continuing the family name!)

Final approval was received in August, and the survey proper was set for September 21 to 27. A pre-survey sweep of the hull and the harbour bottom was carried out by Navy Explosive Ordnance Disposal divers to remove any safety hazards that could imperil the archaeological dives. In addition, Naval Submerged Salvage personnel would be available to assist the Park Service divers for the duration.

On September 20, the sweep of the hull was begun. The EOD divers located four live 5-inch anti-aircraft shells lying on the deck of the ship, and with the highest concern for safety they were removed on the late afternoon of the first day. No one was sure what the effect of several decades of salt water corrosion would do to their stability. No problems were encountered during the removal, and the next day the survey began in earnest.

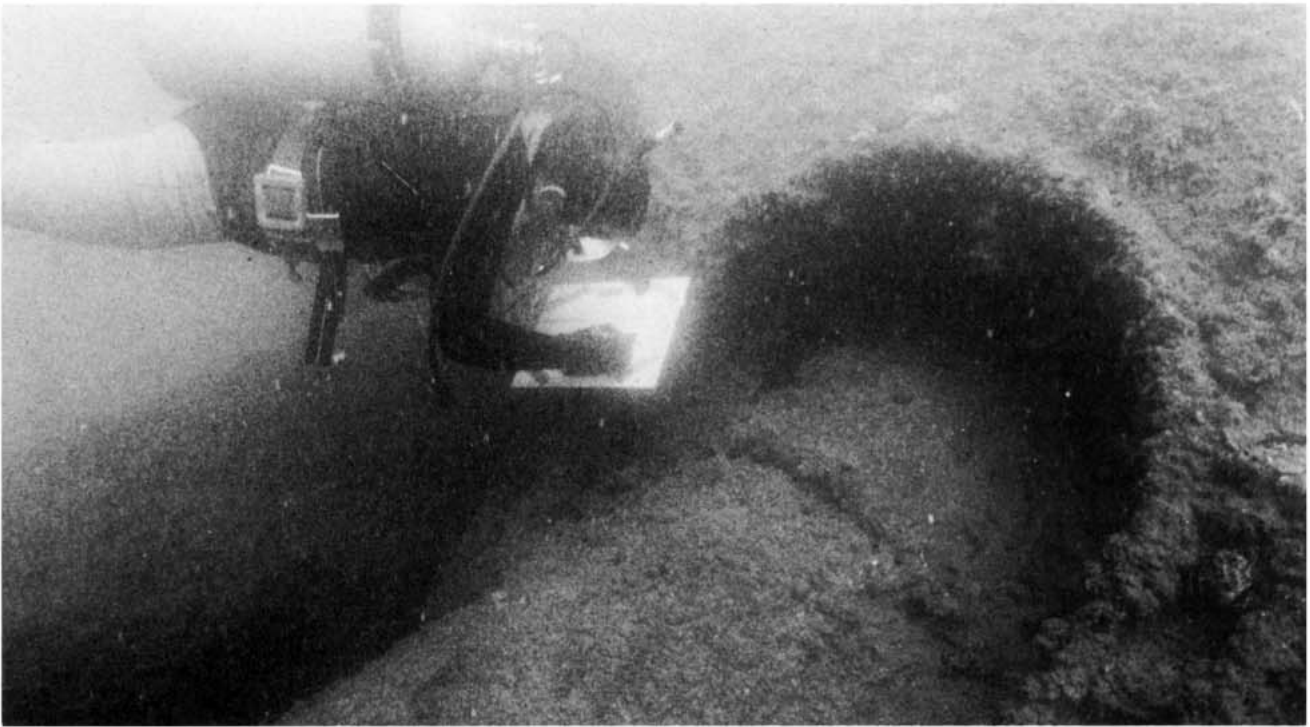
The first close-up look at the *Arizona* was confusing and disorienting. The divers began at the bow and worked their way back towards the stern. While the bow and the first twenty feet were intact, the next 200 feet were merely irregular mounds of metal and coral rising twenty feet from the mud bottom. This is where the explosion had taken place, and the effects of that immense force were soon identifiable. When measurements of the debris were begun, it became apparent that the hull had been splayed open several feet: the original deck plans showed a width of deck that now was two to four feet wider. In addition, sections of armored deck and hull plates were found to be bent backwards like the lids of tin cans. In one spot, a crack two inches wide was measured that ran down one side of the ship and partially up the other, almost surgically separating the bow from the rest of the hull.

One of the most awesome finds, however, was the discovery of the complete Number One 14-inch gun turret lying on the bottom almost thirty feet below its original location.

One purpose of the survey was to accurately measure the ship to produce scale drawings and identify the extent of the damage. Fixed datum points installed on the wreck would also give a base from which future measurements could be made to determine any further settling of the ship. *Left:* a US Navy diver takes a measurement on the deck. *Right:* Sketch being made of the 'bullnose' at the extreme point of the bow where two small holes through the deck allowed the rigging of mooring lines.



Looking down one of the *Arizona*'s tripod mast legs. These also served as communication and escape routes and the ladder allowed crews to ascend to the fire control tops without exposing themselves during battle.



The force of the explosion must have caused the complete turret to collapse downwards when the foundations were knocked out, and it came to rest in an almost perfectly level position. The three gun barrels were all in alignment, and no noticeable destruction to the turret plates was located. During the war, the Navy had completely removed two of the *Arizona*'s turrets, and the guns from a third. Why this battery was never salvaged is an unanswered question that even the original salvage records cannot clear up. The 1942 reports never mentioned either the turret or its condition.

As the surveyors moved further along the hull, the ship became more and more identifiable. About halfway down her length, the hull plates began to take up a regular alignment, and from the position of the Memorial (directly over the mainmast) to the stern the ship was found to be almost perfectly intact, minus only the turrets and deck gear. In this area, numerous portholes were located, some with their glass still intact. The ship's crew had been in the process of setting total watertight conditions when the *Arizona* exploded, and many of the portholes had their solid inner lid, or 'deadlight', in place and secured. One of the stranger discoveries of the survey was that most of these secured portholes still had air trapped between the glass and the deadlight.

The survey work was carried out over the next week, utilising accepted underwater archaeological procedures. The three master divers who led the project were members of the 'Park Services' Submerged Cultural Resource Team, and they were assisted by other experienced scuba divers from both the USS *Arizona* Memorial itself and other parks. All the men suffered from initial disorientation when they first dived on the wreck, partially due to the lack of reference points in the most damaged areas of the ship, and also due to the fact that on most days the visibility in Pearl Harbor was only five to seven feet.

It was agreed from the beginning that no entry into the interior of the battleship would be attempted. There were two reasons for this restriction: first, any wreck is potentially hazardous, and the lack of visibility made it even worse in Pearl Harbor. Second, since the ship still contained unrecovered human remains, we did not feel it proper to enter this area or risk cries of 'grave desecration.' For

One astounding discovery was to find that the No. 1 turret, complete with its three 14-inch guns was still intact on the ship, albeit not in its original position. It had always been assumed that the guns had been salvaged when the others were removed during the war.



the same reason, no artifacts were brought to the surface, although numerous items were photographed in place for study. The only items removed from the ship were the four anti-aircraft projectiles brought up by the Navy on the first day for safety reasons. (These shells have since proven to be somewhat of a mystery. They were designed for a model of gun that the *Arizona* never mounted. How they got on her decks and who put them there is a question that may never be solved.)

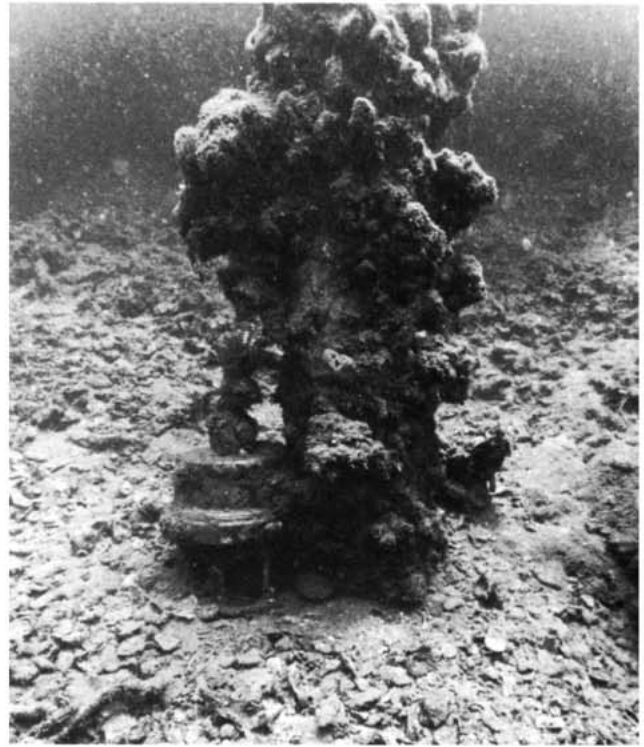
As the week progressed, and the divers became more familiar with the layout of the ship, more and more information was able to be gathered. In addition to taking measurements, underwater still photographs and video tapes were made. The images brought up by the cameramen were both fascinating and haunting: an open deck hatch, with its sun awning still in place, exposed floor tiles and broken crockery in the galley, a fire hose stretched out on deck by crewmen who had died minutes later. There was continued

media interest in the project, and every day there were TV crews present waiting to view and copy the video tapes made by the divers. The survey received television coverage from all three major networks in the US and newspapers ran stories throughout the country.

Some myths regarding the *Arizona* were also exposed. Word-of-mouth reports had led people to believe that the ship was partially 'missing' in the area of the explosion. We found that the side plates of the hull were actually intact although obscured by layers of fine silt. We had also been told that vast amounts of oil leaked from the broken ship, and that most of the pollution in Pearl was caused by the *Arizona*. In fact, an oil slick is visible daily over the wreck, and oil can be seen coming to the surface near the stern. The divers found the location of the leak, and measured its amounts. All that comes from the ship is one pea-sized drop of oil about every fifteen seconds. When it hits the surface,



Poignant reminders of the 1,177 crewmen who went down with her: broken fragments of bowls and silverware in the area of the galley and mess.



A brass lantern still lying on the deck next to a heavily encrusted support — yet nothing was removed as the ship is a war grave.

it spreads out to cover a large area but yard-workers had better find another source of pollution for the amounts of oil found in other parts of the harbor. Only a few gallons a day can escape at the rate observed.

The task of identifying all damage to the ship turned out to be an immense one. In the area of the bow, many days were necessary to accurately measure all the twisted metal portions and try to transfer them to finished drawings. Battle damage reports had noted where several other bombs had hit the ship, but many more holes were observed that there were reported bomb strikes. It is believed that much of this damage is actually the remains of salvage work done in the early 1940s when portions of the deck were cut open to remove machinery on the first deck down. In one area on the stern, in fact, the coral growth was scraped away and the irregular, scalloped-edged metal that remains after an acetylene torch has been used was exposed. This area corresponded to the location of the ship's fantail airplane crane, and we suspect that after the crane was removed the deck was cut open to remove the machinery for turning it.

Although no entry into the ship was allowed, the numerous holes and open port-holes did offer tantalising glimpses into the interior. When examined with a strong light, portions of the compartments were visible. All decks were covered with a fine layer of silt, many inches thick and all fittings and furniture were covered with marine growth. However, we could make out through the swirling silt such items as overgrown ladders, deck beams and bulkheads, occasional tables, and in one area a watertight door, standing ajar.

In a very perceptible way, the ship 'spoke' to the divers. Although the surveyors were experienced archaeologists, Rangers, and salvage workers, they were constantly aware of their presence to both an object of immense historic significance, and of the human remains still entombed within her steel walls. This aura was felt by all who have ever been around the ship for an extended time, and the close proximity of being under water with the *Arizona* only intensified the feeling.

The goals of the survey were only partially fulfilled. Another dive in 1984 will be necessary to complete the mapping, since only a third of the hull was accurately plotted. Actually, more of the ship was surveyed than was originally planned, due to the help rendered by the Navy personnel, but the immense job will still necessitate further dives. No torpedo damage was ever located. The ship has settled more than twenty feet into the mud, and any visible damage from a torpedo is now under the silt bottom. In addition, the location of any such evidence is in almost exactly the same area where the magazines blew out, and may have obliterated any trace of torpedo holes. However, there is an old axiom in archaeology that 'absence of evidence is not evidence of absence'. It is hoped that future survey work may include

removing some of the silt layers to examine her entire hull down to the keel.

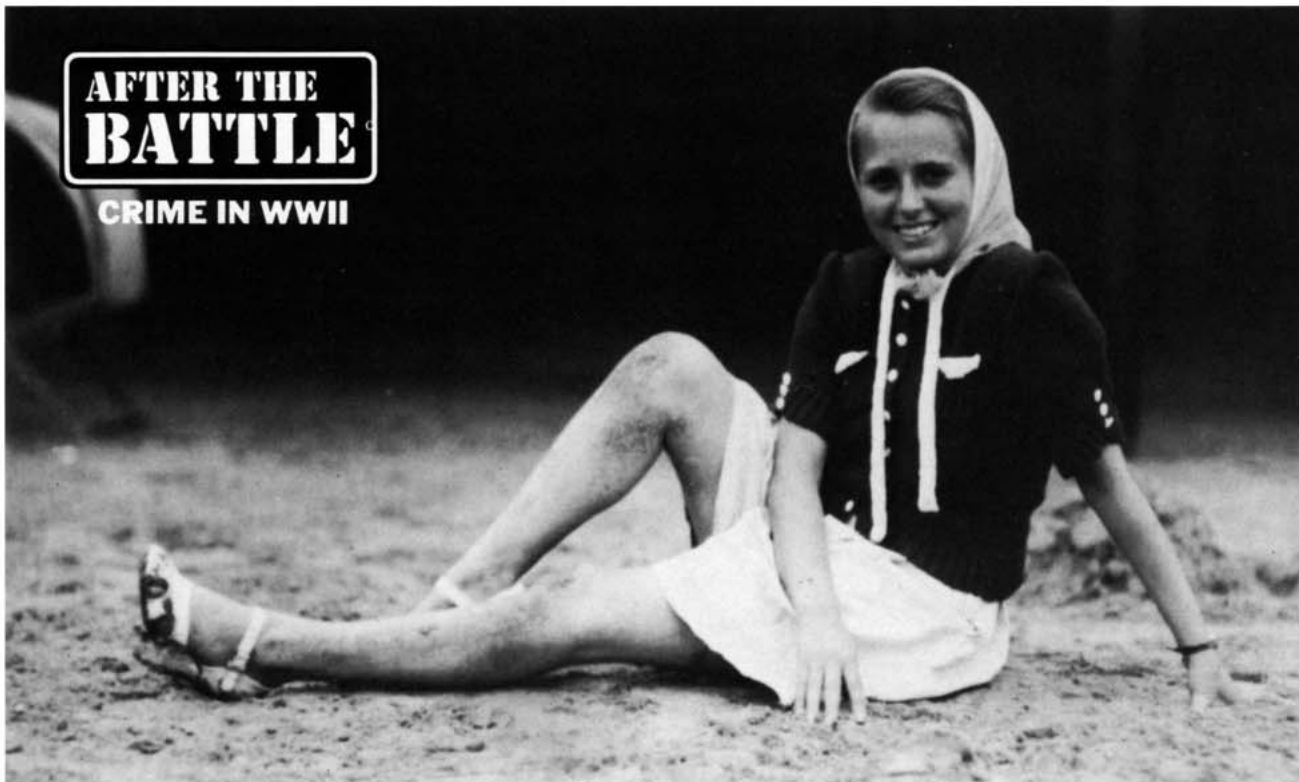
For now, however, the *Arizona* is again alone and at rest. Periodic dives will be made to repeat measurements from the permanently installed datum points, and another dive may yield more information while finishing the total survey. The ship has lost none of her significance or emotional importance for the surveyors who examined her and it is hoped that the information they gathered may lay the groundwork for future preservation methods. *Arizona* is an organic object, made of armour and steel, and is returning to her natural elements. Perhaps through our efforts she can somehow be preserved for future generations to reflect on her symbolism and to remember the day when America finally entered the World War and history changed forever.



More war-like reminders of the day of infamy: .50-calibre machine gun ammunition scattered on the quarterdeck.

AFTER THE BATTLE

CRIME IN WWII



D-DAY'S MOST IGNOMINIOUS CASUALTY

Normandy, June 6, 1944. As night slowly faded, the vast Allied armada slowly materialised in the half-light of dawn. The first flashes from the naval bombardment came shortly after 5.00 a.m., the thundering chorus being taken up all along the seventy-five miles of invasion coast. Sunrise began at two minutes before six but the overcast sky was darkened by smoke-screens, bursting shells and fires ashore. Ninety minutes before H-Hour the assault craft began their run in, first touchdown being at 6.30 a.m. in the west and an hour later in the east. Behind the assault battalions came the assault brigades, amongst them units of the Royal Artillery due to land shortly after 8.00 a.m. However one of their number was missing — Gunner Ernest Kemp — yet like the members of his regiment then approaching the beach, he too was face to face with death at that precise moment. Yet not for him the honour of fighting for his country . . . of coming to grips with the enemy at last . . . of contributing to the cause . . . At 8.00 a.m. he died but not on a battlefield in France from a German bullet but 250 miles away in London at the hands of his own countrymen in the green-painted execution chamber at Wandsworth Prison.

Ernest James Harman Kemp was born illegitimately at Gillingham, Kent, on October 4, 1923. He assumed his mother's name although he later claimed that his father had died when he was four years old. He lived all his life with his mother and a step-father at 27 Railway Grove, New Cross, in south London. He was employed as a porter at nearby New Cross Station by the Southern Railway Company, later working as a driver at Whitbread's Brewery at Lewisham. He joined the Queen's Royal Regiment (West Surrey) on December 29, 1942 and served at Maidstone, Exeter, Ilfracombe and Taunton. The following year he transferred to the Royal Artillery and was stationed at Aberdeen, Cromer and Watford. In November 1943 he was posted to B Battery at the Main Depot at Woolwich. On Tuesday, February 8 he was in

Military Police detention at Woolwich Barracks for desertion from his unit and was currently awaiting court-martial. About 2.15 p.m. that afternoon he was taken under escort to have dental treatment to his gums at the Army Dental Centre in Charlton Park Lane. Asking to visit the lavatory, he opened the window, climbed through, and escaped.

Not three miles away, on the western side of Kidbrooke Park Road, lay the Royal Air Force No. 1 Centre where Leading Aircraftwoman Miriam Deeley had recently arrived to begin training as a radar/wireless mechanic. Twenty-one years old, she had joined the forces on August 7, 1942, some four months before Kemp. Her home was at 29 Blake Hall

Road, Wanstead, on the eastern outskirts of London. She was one of a family of four and, as her father worked at the National Bank of India, perhaps only naturally she joined the bank as soon as she left Woodford County High School for Girls.

While undergoing training at RAF Yatesbury to become an RDF operator, Miriam found herself quartered next to Betty Lowder, who had also joined the service that August, and they soon became firm friends. In November they were both posted to RAF Folly, one of the original Chain Home stations sited beside Roch Castle overlooking St Bride's Bay on the south-western corner of the Welsh coastline. Being a small, self-contained station of



Top: Miriam Deeley at Cliftonville near Margate in August 1938. Above: Her home was at 29 Blake Hall Road, Wanstead, on the north-eastern outskirts of London.



Miriam joined the Women's Auxiliary Air Force on August 7, 1942 and was sent to No. 2 Radio Direction Finding School on September 24. After training as a radar operator she received her first posting to RAF Folly in south-west Wales on November 5.

around sixty personnel (working the four-shift system, 8.00 a.m.-1.00 p.m.; 1.00 p.m.-6.00 p.m.; 6.00 p.m.-11.00 p.m. and 11.00 p.m.-8.00 a.m.) morale was high under the commanding officer, a Canadian, Kline Cochran, and the adjutant Harrison Gray. Sir Geraint Evans, the Welsh opera singer (later Principal Baritone at the Royal Opera House, Covent Garden), was another of those stationed at Folly and all still speak of the special camaraderie of the unit.

Betty was posted to Cornwall in November 1943, by which stage the attractive Miriam had become romantically attached to one of the station's radar mechanics, Aircraftman William Quill, their engagement being announced ten days before Bill received his commission on February 3, 1944. Six days later he was posted for a conversion course to No. 7 Radio School located in the Science Museum, South Kensington, London, and he arranged to be billeted with Miriam's parents in Wanstead. This arrangement was ideal as it would enable them to see each other more often as Miriam had just been posted to No. 1 Balloon Centre at RAF Kidbrooke in south-east London to begin her conversion course as a radar mechanic. Her first love was meteorology but a university degree was a necessary qualification she lacked. The actual course was held in Lewisham Technical College, the girls commuting two stations down the line to their quarters in the RAF camp in Kidbrooke Park Road.

On the weekend of February 12/13, Miriam managed to obtain a weekend pass which she spent with her fiancé at Wanstead. Miriam was due back at camp Sunday night and around eight-thirty that evening Bill set out to escort her to Charing Cross Station where she could catch the 10.00 p.m. Southern Railway train to Kidbrooke. They walked the few hundred yards from Blake Hall Road to the Green Man where they caught a 96 bus. Travelling slowly westwards in blackout conditions along Leytonstone High Road and through Stratford, they passed row after row of bombed out and derelict buildings, this area of the capital having suffered heavily in Hitler's blitz. The bus did not reach Bow Road until about 10.00 p.m. at which point the air raid warning sounded and the driver



Four firm friends during the happy days at Folly in 1943. L-R: Al Bartholomew with Canadian nationality flash, Miriam Deeley, Bill Quill, her fiancé, and Betty Lowder.



Above: RAF Kidbrooke dated back to 1919 with the No. 1 Balloon Centre being established on the site in 1937. The camp was obviously the nearest available billet for the girls on their radar course at Lewisham Technical College two miles to the west. Miriam was quartered with the Training Flight in the North Camp. The station lasted into the late 1960s as the Air Publications and Forms Store. (John Kennett) Below: Today the old main entrance is that for Thomas Tallis School.





Stark contrasts *Left: Bow Road Station, unchanged in forty years. Right: The old YMCA canteen at Charing Cross — now*

transformed into the Casey Jones Burger Bar, Miriam was spotted here by ACW2 Winifred Allen just after ten-thirty.

halted, unable to proceed any further. Bow Road Station on the District Line underground system was close by, and Bill checked that trains were still running to the West End. After purchasing a ticket to Charing Cross Bill stayed on the platform to see Miriam safely on her train. In her handbag she carried one of Bill's clothing coupon books he had given to her to obtain a pair of silk stockings, and under her arm a bulky copy of *War and Peace* which she had borrowed from the canteen library.

When she arrived at Charing Cross (the underground station has since been renamed Embankment) she found that she had missed the last train to Kidbrooke from nearby Charing Cross main line station, but that she could catch one at 11.25 which would take her as far as Lewisham. Realising she would overstay her pass, she telephoned the guardroom at Kidbrooke to report that she had missed her train and would have to wait for another one. She said she would therefore be late back at camp. Her call was timed by Corporal Stanley Weston at 11.20 p.m. She never arrived.

The following morning, Arthur Belcher, a special constable with the Southern Railway living at Basket Gardens, Eltham, decided to visit his allotment alongside Foxhole Path which ran alongside the railway near Well Hall Station, the next one down the line from Kidbrooke. His allotment was number 23 but before he reached it he saw what appeared to be a blue-grey pile of cloth lying on the adjoining plot among some cabbages. As he moved closer he saw that a WAAF tunic and greatcoat were covering the body of a young girl. It was immediately obvious to him that she was dead as round her neck was a tightly drawn scarf. PC Belcher called upon a passer-by, Jack Mardell, to go immediately to Eltham Police Station in Well Hall Road to report while he stayed to guard the body.

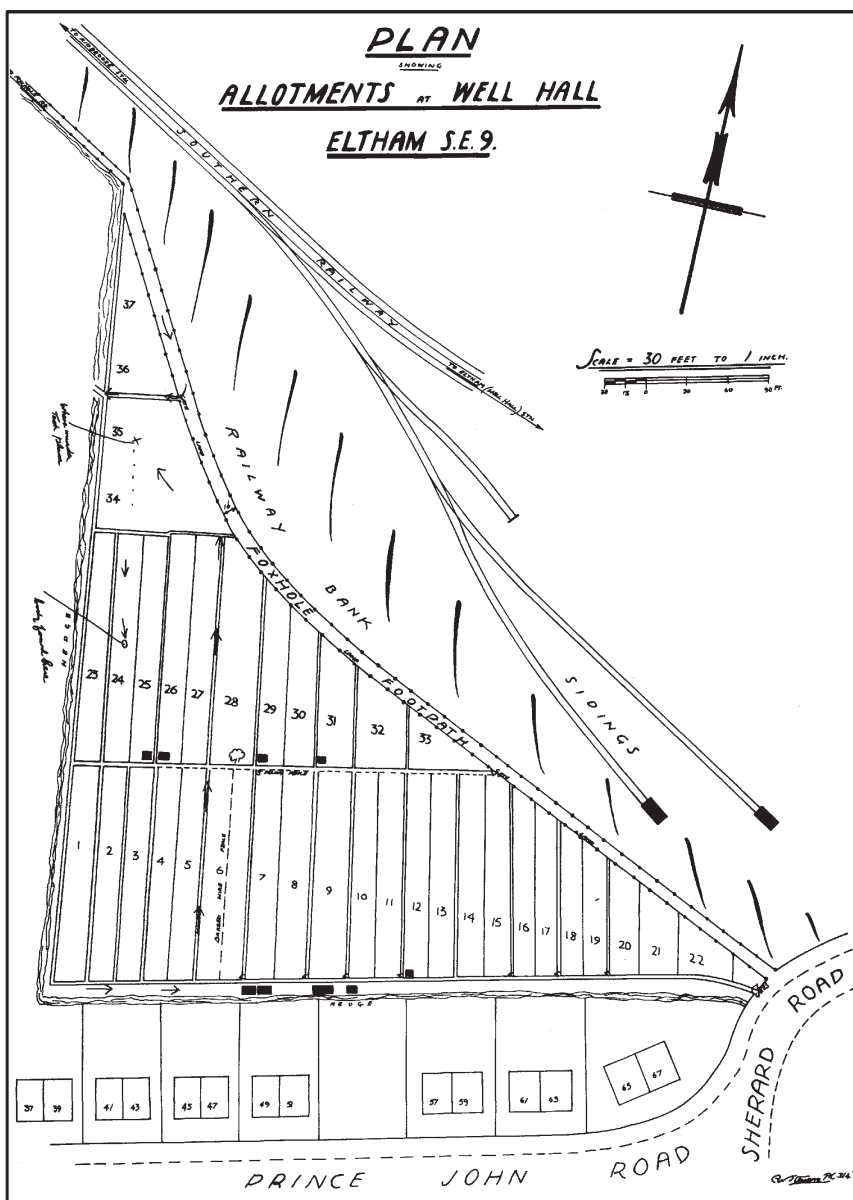
By 8.30 a.m. Police Sergeant Charles Fennell and Detective Inspector Vincent Green had arrived on the scene accompanied by the police surgeon of R division, Dr William Milton. The body was practically naked except for a pullover, shirt, collar and tie and was quite cold, and Dr Milton came to the conclusion that death had occurred seven to nine hours previously. When police examined the area, they found evidence of a struggle about seventy feet away with marks showing that the body had been dragged to its present position. Some distance away was her cap, a book, and also a soldier's knitted khaki right-hand glove. Although it was obvious that the victim was a WAAF, there were no immediate clues as to her identity.

Scotland Yard were immediately informed and the renowned Chief Inspector (later Detective Chief Superintendent) Edward Greeno, one of the Yard's 'Big Five', arrived at the scene of the crime. The soft earth not

only showed the furrows made as the body had been dragged across the allotment but the clear impression of the killer's feet — measured as size 11.

With all the police activity in the area since early morning, news soon spread that a

murder had taken place. Schoolboys are renowned for their inquisitiveness and around lunchtime 14-year-old Ronald Jury from St Thomas More School approached the area by the path from Westhorpe Avenue. With eyes peeled for anything of interest Ronald could



Scene of crime plan as prepared by Police Constable Charles Stevens of R Division. The route taken by Kemp is arrowed. (G. Ramsey)



Left: Ronald Jury, then a 14-year-old schoolboy, revisits the spot where he found a vital clue — the pocket torn from Miriam's skirt containing her identity discs. Recently the ground level has been raised several feet during the con-

struction of the Rochester Way relief road obliterating the course of Foxhole Path on the northern side of the railway line.

struction of the Rochester Way relief road obliterating the course of Foxhole Path on the northern side of the railway line. **Right:** A few yards away, this railway arch provides access to the southern leg of the path.



Right: A few yards away, this railway arch provides access to the southern leg of the path.

struction of the Rochester Way relief road obliterating the course of Foxhole Path on the northern side of the railway line.

hardly believe his eyes when he spotted a piece of blue cloth just over the railway fence. Quick as a flash it had been retrieved and on examination he saw it was actually a linen pocket, ragged at the top where it had been torn away. Inside were two identification discs, the name as clear in Ronald's mind today as it was then: 2130707 LACW Iris Miriam Deeley.

Taking his find to the Police Constable further along the path, the cheeky schoolboy asked to see someone of importance, the ulterior motive of course being to get nearer the scene of the crime. In the end the constable relented, leading him along the path to where officers were gathered in an allotment at the far end. Although Ronald had achieved his aim he lived to regret having done so. While he did not see the body, a large area had been trampled 'as if a tank had been driven through' where the victim must have desperately fought the killer. It left a lasting

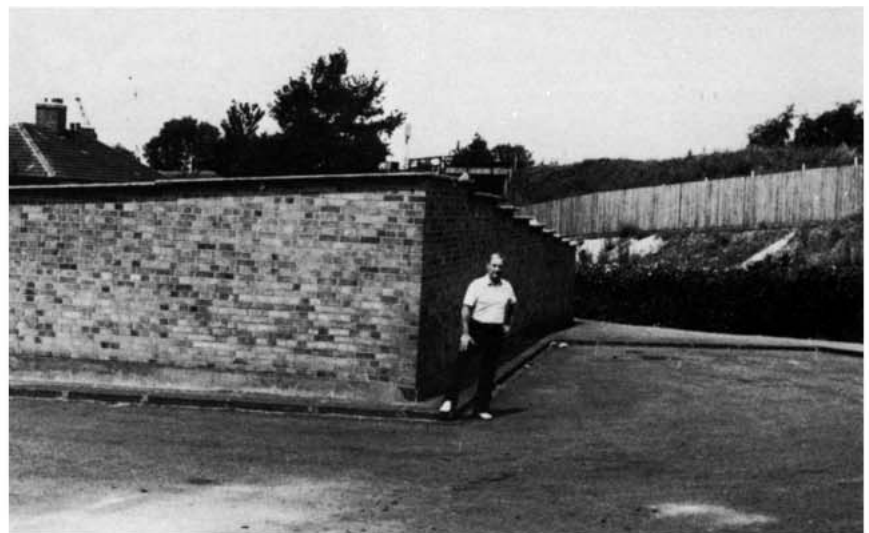
impression in the mind of the young schoolboy.

The post-mortem, carried out the next day by pathologist Arthur Davies of Harley Street, proved that death had been caused by asphyxiation and on the 16th it was the sad duty of Donald Deeley, her father, and Bill Quill to visit Lewisham Mortuary to formally identify the body.

After saying goodbye to Miriam at Bow Road, Bill Quill had returned to Blake Hall Road. The next day he was in class at the Science Museum as usual when police arrived in the afternoon to interview him and curtly asked to examine his shoes. Leaving him completely in the dark as to the reason for the inspection, the police departed seemingly satisfied. Then came a phone call from Miriam's sister Hazel asking him to come home immediately. When Bill asked why she just said come right away. As he sat on the train he happened to glance at the headline in



Left: Ronald took the pocket with him to where a Police Constable was standing at the beginning of the path on the far side of the archway. Not wanting to hand it over to any old policeman, he asked to be taken to see someone of importance. That man turned out to be Chief Inspector Edward Greeno who allowed Ronald to enter the allotments through the gate (see plan). Only then did the real meaning of murder come home to him as he faced a devastated vegetable plot



where Miriam had fought desperately to save her life. Her cries for help woke up one of the residents of the houses in Basket Gardens which overlook the site. Ronald can still hear the scathing admonishment issued by Mr Justice Cassels at the trial when the gentleman in question meekly stated that he just went back to sleep. Ronald stands where he stood with Greeno on February 14, 1944; the land was developed in 1965 and is now occupied by the Tattersall flats and their garages.



Left: Mrs Margaret McGregor provided the first description of the man police were seeking. She described the cocky young soldier who had walked with them as far as the police box opposite Kidbrooke Church from where it was only 400 yards to



the RAF camp. Right: With the advent of personal police walkie-talkies, police boxes became redundant and were removed. The wartime air raid siren still remains although the junction of Brook Lane has been altered.

Lewisham at twenty minutes to midnight and she remembered an attractive, well-spoken WAAF carrying a book under her arm. When interviewed she said that, in the company of her brother, she had walked with the WAAF and a soldier who joined them outside Chiesmans store as far as Kidbrooke church. She described the soldier as a rough, tough individual with blond hair and moustache wearing an amazing paraphernalia of regimental flashes, glider pilot's wings, medal ribbons and sergeant's stripes. The soldier had talked about the night's air raid and had bragged about finding some American soldiers covering in a shelter whom he had ordered out at pistol point. Needless to say, Mrs McGregor noted that he was not wearing a sidearm. He talked a lot about how he hated Americans and that it was a good job his sister had not brought a Yank home at Christmas: 'My father's a copper and there would have been murder'.

Mrs McGregor said that the soldier had soon tired of talking to her brother and had arranged it so he dropped behind next to the WAAF by the time they reached Blackheath Village. Mrs McGregor recalled that she had called: 'Step it out the Army!' and that the cocky soldier had replied: 'I'm trying to keep in step with Snow White here'.

On reaching Kidbrooke Park Road Mrs McGregor and her brother had crossed over to reach their home in Broad Walk and, as it was only a few minutes walk to the RAF camp, she said she had directed the WAAF to walk straight on towards Kidbrooke Station. That was the last she had seen of them but she was convinced that the soldier was the murderer. One significant remark gave Ted Greeno a vital clue: as they neared the church, the soldier had said 'I've walked this way a few times' confirming his hunch that the killer probably had local knowledge to be able to find the allotments.

Now having a good description of the man they were seeking, police were notified throughout Britain to be on the lookout for the talkative soldier with the impressive array of ribbons and flashes. Just over a week later, early on the morning of Tuesday, February 22, Charles Memory, a railway policeman at St Pancras Station, spotted a sergeant and a WAAF cuddling on the platform. Memory was an old soldier and he immediately recognised the Military Medal ribbon, rare enough by itself, let alone on a young soldier, but his suspicions were really aroused by the others: North West Frontier, Afghanistan and Palestine Medals, all of which would have been awarded for service long before the youngster could have been born!

Charles Memory waited until the soldier

had seen the WAAF off on a train, and then questioned him, asking him also how he came to be wearing American Army trousers and carrying an American officer's valise. The soldier said he had 'found' them in the Euston Road but, not satisfied, Memory took him into custody. Turning out his pockets at Albany Road Police Station, the soldier was found to possess a wallet, a Waterman pen, a

book of clothing coupons with the front page missing, and a left luggage ticket (No. IV 00952) for a kitbag in the Forces Free Cloakroom at Waterloo Station in the name of 'Sergeant Frederick'.

Alerted to the arrest, Chief Inspector Greeno arrived at Albany Street around 11.00 a.m. to see the suspect 'sergeant' who identified himself as Gunner Ernest Kemp, single



Above: The arrest of Gunner Kemp at St Pancras Station by PC Charles Memory as depicted by artist Langhammer in 1960. Below: Scene of a murderer's demise photographed in 1984.



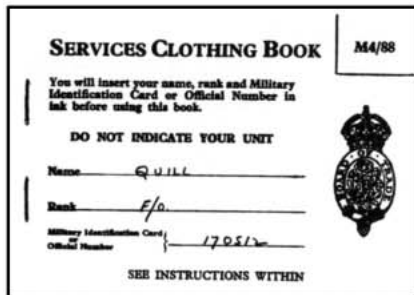


The site of the Dental Centre at the old Shrapnel Barracks in Charlton Park Lane from where Gunner Kemp escaped on February 8. The precise spot is now occupied by the service road behind Queen Elizabeth Military Hospital opened in 1972.



After escaping from the toilet window of the Dental Centre, Kemp probably cut across the sports field to reach his aunt's house in Dixon Road. No. 5 has since been knocked down to extend Goldsmiths' College.

and aged 24 [sic]. While Greeno left to check his credentials, Detective Sergeant Cecil Ogden went to Waterloo to recover the kitbag. In it was a pair of battledress trousers and in the field dressing pocket was the front page from a clothing ration book bearing the name 'Pilot Officer W. Quill', although the rank had been crossed out and had been replaced by 'Staff Sergeant'.



The actual book found on Kemp was retained by police as evidence; this is a similar book of clothing coupons issued to Bill Quill after his promotion to Flying Officer in August 1944.

Returning to Albany Street at 3.30 p.m. having discovered that the suspect was a deserter, Ted Greeno told Kemp he was conducting a murder inquiry and asked him to account for his movements since absconding from the Charlton Park Dental Centre on February 8. Kemp stated that after escaping he had gone straight to his aunt's at No. 5 Dixon Road, New Cross, where he had tea before leaving at about 5.15 p.m. He then caught a train to Erith where he went to see

his girl friend, Ivy Gee, who worked at the Callenders company. At 11.00 p.m. he left to return to London and on reaching London Bridge he spent the night in the waiting room between platforms 1 and 2. Next morning he went to Uncle Tom's Cafe in Plumstead Road, Woolwich, for breakfast followed by a wash and brush up in the nearby gents' lavatory. From Plumstead Kemp said that he returned to Charing Cross to have a walk round Regent Street and Oxford Street and that evening he returned to see his girl friend at Erith. He stated that he followed virtually the same routine over the next ten days, visiting his girl friend, travelling back and forth to London, and sleeping in the London Bridge waiting room, Union Jack Club or a YMCA hostel.

On Saturday morning, February 12, he said he had gone to Millets Army and Navy Stores where he purchased a set of Sergeant's stripes, Commando titles, Combined Operations divisional patches and Army Physical Training Corps flashes (although he made no mention of the medal ribbons). He also took a fancy to a pair of glider pilot's wings and some 'brass crossed swords'. Up till then he had been walking around in ordinary battledress but he soon had all the new badges sewn on by a tailor in Waterloo Road near St George's Circus. He tried without success to complete his new identity with a green Commando beret, even travelling down to Isaac Walton's at Bromley to try to purchase one.

On Sunday, February 13, he told Greeno that he arose from his by now customary bench in the waiting room and caught a train from Charing Cross to Erith. He then returned with his girl friend to Waterloo to travel to her brother's house at Whitton for lunch. They left at 8.00 p.m. and arrived back at Waterloo an hour and a half later. There

they caught the 10.00 p.m. train to Erith. Kemp travelled with her as far as Deptford, where he got off leaving her to continue home alone.

'I came out of Deptford Station, walked up Deptford High Street to the coffee stall in Deptford Broadway', stated Kemp. 'I had a cup of tea and a cake and then walked through Brookmill Road to Lewisham. It would then be about ten past eleven and I went into the A1 Cafe. I had my supper there and left about a quarter to twelve. There was nobody in the cafe I knew except the chap behind the counter. He knows me as a regular.

'I left the cafe at about 11.45 p.m., stood outside, and a soldier and an ATS came by and I said goodnight to them. They said "Goodnight" and walked on to Belmont Hill. Shortly afterwards a man and a woman in civilian clothes and a WAAF came along from the direction of Lewisham station. The woman I think was wearing a short jacket, the man had an overcoat on and was carrying a case. The man was on the inside of the footpath next to me, the woman next to him and the WAAF on the kerbside. I said "Goodnight" to them and they answered "Goodnight". The man said "Where are you going Tommy?" I said "I am going to Woolwich". The man said "We are going towards Blackheath to Kidbrooke. We lost our train, did you lose yours?" I walked with them alongside the man and up Belmont Hill.

'The WAAF was carrying a book under her arm. When we got up the top of Belmont Hill we had to cross the road and I changed over and walked alongside the WAAF on her right. During the walk there was just a casual conversation, the WAAF said she was going to Kidbrooke where she was training. I walked with the woman, the man and the WAAF as



The A1 cafe — now a Chinese take-away. Lewisham station is a couple of hundred yards round the bend.



Mrs McGregor stated that Kemp joined them outside Chiesmans — only recently taken over by the Army & Navy.



The RAF camp in Kidbrooke Park Road stretched for several hundred yards on both sides of the road. Kemp's statement omits any explanation or clue as to the route from Kidbrooke Church to Westhorne Avenue but the only way to avoid passing the camp would be to divert down Kidbrooke Way to

Rochester Way leading to Briset Road. Miriam was unfamiliar with the area and blackout conditions would have prevented her spotting the camp. Detective Sergeant (later Detective Superintendent) Fred Hodge remembers that Kemp told him that he kidded the WAAF that he knew a short cut to the camp.

far as Kidbrooke Church where the police box is. The WAAF and I left the civilian man and woman, they branched off through a road on the left and they told us to go straight on. I asked the WAAF if she would like me to walk with her and she said "Yes, I don't mind your company as long as you're not putting yourself out".

"I walked on with the WAAF; she did not know her way and I didn't know the way. We walked on towards a bridge near the railway. I could see the railway embankment; there was an arch over the railway. I saw a man come off a tract of ground near the railroad, actually alongside the railroad. He came through a gateway and shone a flash lamp on us. I thought he said "Halt!" and I was under the impression he may have been a Home Guard. I said to him "Which is the way to Kidbrooke Camp?" and he said "Through the passage-

way by the railroad, turn to the right when you get to the end and you will be near enough there." I walked with the WAAF to the arch over the railway nearby and left her there. She said she would be all right and walked on."

Kemp then stated that after he left the WAAF by the archway, he walked back to the trams where he caught a No. 46 back to Woolwich. Incredibly, he then stated that he returned to his barracks, went to his billet via the back kitchen door and slept in his own bed. Next morning he said that he left the room before the others were awake and had a cup of coffee at the stall beside Woolwich Arsenal gates. He finally managed to purchase a green beret on the day he was apprehended.

Asked to explain how he had come by the wallet he claimed to have possessed it for two years. The fountain pen Kemp said he had

purchased three weeks previously in Joanes by the Marquis of Granby tram stop in Lewisham. The incriminating detached clothing coupon cover was found to fit the book of pink coupons in his pocket but these he said he had bought for a 'dollar' in the A1 Cafe at Lewisham on Monday or Tuesday, the 14th or 15th of February.

Not satisfied with his story or his ability to explain how he had come into possession of the coupons or the fountain pen, Kemp was further questioned by Chief Inspector Greeno at 8.15 p.m. that evening. Entering the cell, Greeno called on Kemp to remove his boots — size 11 — Greeno later admitting that his demand was more in case his burly customer cut up rough! Having removed his boots, Kemp was then informed by Greeno that he was not satisfied that he had told the truth and that he was being detained in connection



This was the beginning of the path from Westhorne Avenue before it was demolished in 1981 for building the new road. In 1944 a balloon squadron was stationed at its end in the corner



of the park. It was here that Leading Aircraftwoman Joan Patience on guard duty challenged Kemp as he left the allotments and blundered into her post. (John Kennett)



The late Detective Chief Superintendent Edward Greeno, MBE, who retired as head of No. 4 District (covering six police divisions south of the Thames) in 1959. His fearsome reputation led to him being commended eighty-eight times during his career.

with Miriam Deeley's murder. He replied: 'I thought you must have known. I haven't told you the truth. I don't know what came over me and made me do it. I will tell you what happened.'

During the drive to murder HQ at Eltham Kemp conceded: 'I deserve all I am going to get. She didn't have a chance. It was my fault; as soon as I tightened the scarf she seemed to go right out. She wouldn't submit to me at all.' The Chief Inspector told him that his

statement would be taken down when they reached Eltham Police Station where they arrived at 9.20 p.m.

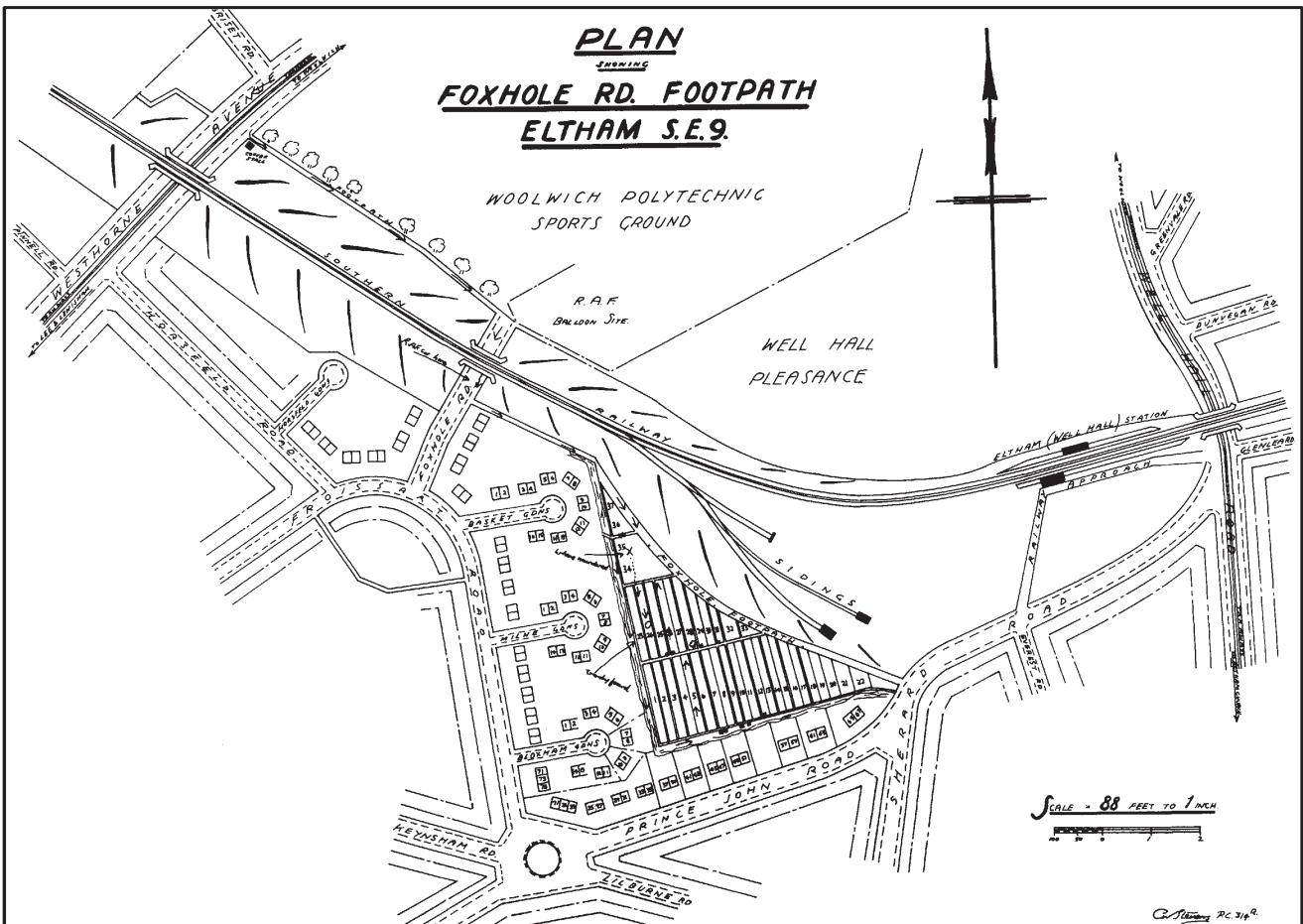
'I haven't told you the truth about what happened when I was with the WAAF but all the other is true', confessed Kemp in his second statement taken down by Detective Sergeant Fred Hodge. 'When I was walking with the WAAF and we got to the end of the footpath running alongside the railway, I think a man did say "Halt!" I did not say anything to him and he said no more to me. He shone his lighted torch on the WAAF and me. Just about that time an RAF car came along. I walked with the WAAF under the arch and into a second passageway alongside the railroad on the left and some allotments on the right. We walked along the passageway and I saw a wooden gate on the right. I tried the gate and found it shut but it moved. I put my hand on the inside of the gate and found a button and opened the gate. I walked through with the WAAF and shut the gate behind me. We walked straight across the path to the back of some houses, along another path to the top of the allotments, then along another path to the centre and down another path to the middle of the allotments. Whilst we were walking along I put my hand on her breasts on the outside of her coat. She kept knocking my hand away and said "Don't do that". I could see she was frightened. We walked along until we came to some soft earth towards the bottom of the allotments about a dozen yards or so away from the wooden gate. I put my right arm behind her and placed my right [sic] hand over her mouth and pulled her down to the ground. She tried to struggle but she had no chance. I laid her on the ground, undid her coat at the neck and noticed she was wearing a

scarf folded across her tunic. I held her head down on the ground with my hand over her mouth. She still tried to struggle. I twisted the scarf round her neck and pulled it too tight. She went out and I felt her heart and found she was gone. I took her overcoat off whilst she was there. I got the wind up being near the footpath and dragged her up near the cabbages and left her there. I don't know what made me do it but I undressed her. I took all her clothes off but did not interfere with her. After I had taken her clothes off I saw her naked body and thought someone might see it whilst going along the pathway, so I put her tunic over the top part of her body and placed her overcoat over the lower part of her body. Before I had covered her over I searched the pockets of her clothing and found a wallet in her tunic pocket. There was also a long silver cigarette case in the same pocket. I took these out and put them in my pocket. I also took a fountain pen from her tunic pocket. I tore the pocket out of her skirt. I then covered her over as I have said.

'I left the allotments by the same gate and walked back along the footpath to the tram lines. Whilst I was walking along I looked into the torn out pocket, found an identity disc and some small coins. I threw the pocket and identity disc over the railings alongside the railway line and put the coins in my pocket. I then looked at the cigarette case — it was no good to me as I don't smoke so I dropped it inside the railings, pushed it in the soil and covered it over with earth with my boot.'

Kemp was charged with Miriam's murder at 10.30 p.m. that evening and appeared before Greenwich Police Court the following day where he was remanded in custody at Brixton Prison until March 13. At the subse-

The final few hundred yards were traced on this plan at the trial. Kemp managed to get Miriam past another RAF camp — this time the entrance to the balloon squadron's site — near the spot where Flight Lieutenant Andrew Howartson saw them while on his rounds in the 'RAF car'. (G. Ramsey)





'In proud and loving memory of "Cis" our precious daughter.' An inscription in stone but how can one adequately convey the tragedy of Miriam's death in words. They laid her to rest in a

shady corner of the City of London Cemetery at Manor Park, the grave (number 111455 in square 261) now marked by the Commonwealth War Graves Commission.

quent committal proceedings Bill Quill identified Exhibit 7 as being his clothing book which was complete when he had given it to his fiancée about a week before her death. Kemp was then sent for trial at the Central Criminal Court in the Old Bailey.

On April 18 he appeared before Mr Justice Cassels indicted with the murder to which he pleaded not guilty. Mr L. A. Byrne and Mr Gerald Howard led for the prosecution while Mr F. H. Lawton appeared for the defendant.

However no evidence was called in Kemp's defence and the eleven men and one woman on the jury retired for only fifteen minutes before returning a verdict of guilty, although adding a recommendation for mercy. After stating that the plea would be passed to the appropriate quarter, the judge donned the black cap and sentenced Kemp to death.

Dr Hugh Grierson, Senior Medical Officer, who examined Kemp at Brixton, had already reported that he was of the unemotional type

with which is associated a considerable degree of callousness, and that he found no reason to consider that Kemp suffered from, or had suffered from, any mental disease. Kemp's appeal against conviction was quashed by the Lord Chief Justice on May 23.

The execution date was fixed for June 6 — which at that time would be the day after the Normandy landings. However, by one of those twists of fate, D-Day was postponed, Kemp thus becoming its most ignominious casualty.



'This memorial bears the names of three thousand five hundred . . . who gave their lives . . . and to whom the fortune of war denied a known and honoured grave.' Honour with dishonour at Brookwood. Should the names of those who truly paid the ultimate sacrifice be tarnished with those of murderers: men like Private Arthur Peach on Panel 12 executed for shooting two young girls in 1942; Private August Sangret on Panel 23, guilty of the ghastly 'Wigwam' murder in 1943 . . . and Gunner Kemp?



It should be explained that the crimes of treason, murder, manslaughter, treason-felony and rape, when committed by service personnel in the United Kingdom, are always tried by civil court. Clearly Parliament regarded those crimes as the most serious offences in the criminal calendar and felt it appropriate to require that if they were committed within the area of jurisdiction of the British criminal courts, they should always be tried by those courts. That jurisdiction does not extend overseas and thus such crimes, like all other offences, are tried by court-martial. Therefore, although Gunner Kemp was guilty of killing a servicewoman, this still did not alter the criteria for trial by civil court as the crime was committed in the United Kingdom.

Two burial grounds exist within the prison walls at Wandsworth and Kemp was buried close by the perimeter wall in the south-east corner of the prison yard. Since the abolition of capital punishment in Britain in 1965, the Home Office has allowed the families of convicted criminals to have the remains exhumed and returned to them for private burial. Few have availed themselves of the concession and it has been confirmed to us that Kemp remains buried inside the prison.

Miriam, for that was the name by which she was known, was buried on February 18, 1944 in a plot chosen by her father in the City of London Cemetery at Manor Park in East London and at the end of the war the Imperial War Graves Commission (the name was changed to Commonwealth in March 1960) erected a headstone of white Portland stone on the grave.

Two years earlier the Brookwood Memorial was inaugurated in Brookwood Military Cemetery, near Woking, Surrey, to commemorate those whose circumstances of death were such that their names could not appropriately be assigned to any of the campaign memorials. Dedicated to those 'to whom the fortune of war denied a known and honoured grave', among the 3,555 names can be found that of Gunner Ernest James Kemp. I put the question as to why the name of a convicted murderer should be inscribed on a memorial to those who died honourably in battle (an example being included in this very issue of the four Royal Engineers murdered by the Gestapo on Operation Freshman) to the Ministry of Defence, the present-day successor to the War Office. Their spokesman replied that the criteria set out at the end of the war for the commemoration of British war dead stated that any serviceman or woman who died between September 3, 1939 and December 31, 1947, from whatever cause, would automatically be referred to the Imperial War Graves Commission for commemoration. The Ministry of Defence went on to say that this decision was made so that servicemen and women who died from natural causes or from road or other accidents (or were murdered like Miriam Deeley) while in the service of their country would still be commemorated, either in name or by a known grave, alongside those who lost their lives in battle. The Ministry spokesman explained that the enormous numbers involved, and the inevitable degree of uncertainty in many cases of the circumstances of death, dictated that the qualification was not how but when a person died.

Readers will be surprised to learn, as I was, that a line was not drawn to exclude those servicemen executed in the United Kingdom during the war after having been found guilty of capital crimes by a civil court. The Ministry of Defence claimed that a precedent already existed from the Great War where the 300 men who were shot for cowardice between 1914 and 1918 were nevertheless still commemorated as war dead, the parents of at least one soldier insisting that the inscription 'Shot at dawn' be included on his IWGC headstone. However is it fair to compare those convicted of a military offence at a drum-head

court martial on the field of battle with those of another war fairly tried in a civil court before a judge and jury and found guilty of murder?

During the Second World War 36 servicemen were executed by sentence of courts-martial. Serving personnel court-martialled and sentenced to penal servitude or imprisonment could, in addition, be discharged with ignominy from His Majesty's service. (Today



'They shall not grow old, as we that are left grow old . . . At the going down of the sun and in the morning we will remember them.'

this is standard administrative procedure following any conviction resulting in imprisonment as a result of a court-martial, which would apply to murder committed outside the jurisdiction of the British civil courts.) Surely murder should have justified a discharge with ignominy and, had the cashiering process been carried out, it would consequently have removed the names of convicted murderers from the service roll and hence avoided their subsequent commemoration. My research indicates that the Air Ministry did adopt just such a policy during the war as LAC Arthur

Heys, who was convicted of the murder of another WAAF, Winnifred Evans, in 1944, was discharged with disgrace on March 12, 1945 — the day before his execution — thus eliminating any possibility of subsequent commemoration. Why therefore did the War Office not act in a similar manner regarding Army personnel?

The inclusion on the Brookwood Memorial of the names of those criminals executed for heinous crimes during the Second World War is directly opposite to the policy adopted by the American authorities who went to ultimate lengths, in the creation of a special 'dis-honoured' plot in France, to ensure that no stigma would attach to those who died honourably in battle (see *After the Battle* issue 32). It must be emphasised that the Commonwealth War Graves Commission plays no part in the decision of who or who will not be commemorated as they act solely under instructions issued by the military authorities.

Many of Kemp's statements do not stand up to close scrutiny, in fact he did not even seem to know his age, stating that he was 24 years old when in fact he was born on October 4, 1919. He told Margaret McGregor that his father was a policeman yet he told police that his father had died when he was four years old. In his first statement he claimed that he did not know the way to Kidbrooke but he had remarked to Mrs McGregor that he had walked that way quite often. At the point where Kemp parted company with the McGregors on Kidbrooke Park Road, Miriam was only four hundred yards from her camp which was hidden only by a bend in the road. From that point on Kemp must have known exactly what he was doing for he must have somehow avoided passing the camp to lead her nearly a mile and a half further east and then along the railway line to Foxhole Path. Kemp stated that he was accosted by a Home Guard who directed him to the RAF camp saying '... and you will be near enough there', which must be pure fabrication. In fact Kemp contradicted this point in his second statement, stating that the guard only said 'Halt!'

His delusions of grandeur in masquerading with decorations, badges of rank and insignia to which he was not entitled were to result in a chilling coincidence for Miriam's friend Betty Lowder long after Kemp had been executed. With hostilities over, the demand for radar operators was greatly diminished and in August 1945 Betty was transferred to the pay accounts section at RAF Innsworth, Gloucestershire. There the girls were working in what she remembers as a large hangar-type building and one day, shortly after the surrender of Japan, she overheard a chance remark about a friend of one of the girls who had been engaged to a man who had been hanged for killing a girl. When she enquired the name it was the same . . . only this time Kemp was a captain!

When I first contacted Miriam's brother Alan to tell him that I wanted to include the story of his sister's murder in *After the Battle*, he told me quite frankly that he would rather not see the events of forty years ago, which had brought such sadness to his family, publicised again. I fully appreciated his view but I explained that I felt strongly that the fact that a convicted murderer was commemorated alongside those who paid the ultimate price in the sacrifice of their own lives for an honourable cause was an injustice that I wanted to try to put right. Miriam's friend Betty Lowder, and her fiancé, Bill Quill, now happily married with a family of his own, both of whom have kept true to her memory and visit the grave on May 20 — Miriam's birthday — each year, were appalled when I told them of Kemp's name being honoured at Brookwood. As Bill said quietly as I got up to leave him after a chat one summer's evening in his garden, 'I just wonder what Miriam would think about it'.



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